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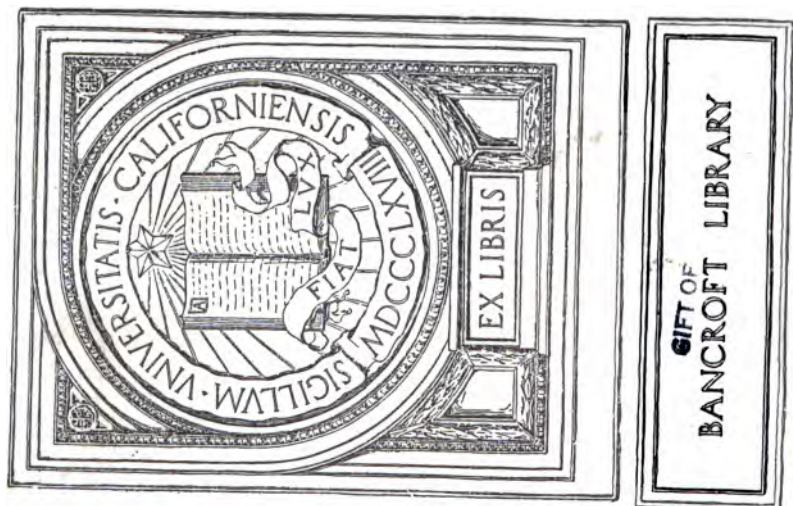
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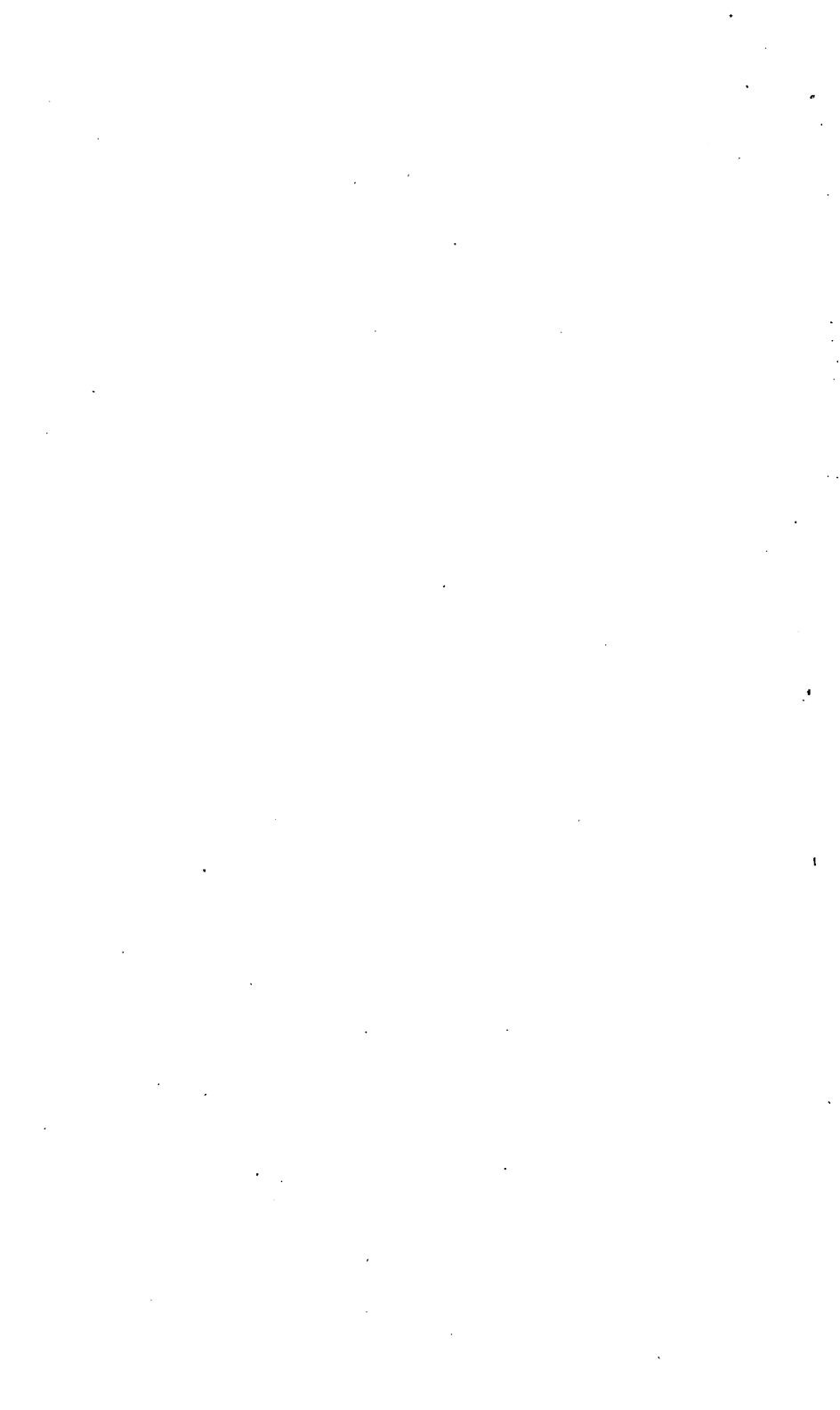
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COBBETT'S
WEEKLY REGISTER.

VOLUME XLIII.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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TO

MR. HUME.

*On the proposed Vote of Money
to the East India Company.*

Kensington, 2 July 1832.

SIR,

I LONG ago observed that the question relating to the pretended Debt due to the East India Company would put to the test your sincerity with regard to a desire to ease this half broken-backed nation of its burdens. That question has now been before the House of Commons; and I am truly sorry to have to say that my anticipations have been but too fully verified.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, last night (the 1st of July,) brought forward this claim of the East India Company, with regard to which, he made the following strange and confused statement, agreeably to the report which I

find in the Morning Chronicle, and which I will first insert, word for word as I find it in that paper.

The next general head was the payments made by the East India House, and on this head he would give some explanation. Some years since certain claims were made by the East India Company on the Government relative to certain expenses, but especially for the maintenance of the St. Helena establishment for the custody of Buonaparte. Gentlemen would see by the papers on the table that the claims set up by the East India Company were 1,500,000*l.* which, if interest were allowed, would, on the established computation, amount to 5,000,000*l.* But to those claims there were a variety of objections raised, as the papers showed, by the Treasury. *Several of the claims were not thought justifiable—some were absolutely rejected, and others were taken into consideration.* On the other hand, the counter claim of the public against the Company was disputed by the Company; and the House must be aware that the arrangement ne-

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cessarily assumed the character of a negotiation between independent States (a laugh); for the Company were obliged to guard the interests of the proprietors; and the Treasury to preserve the economy of the public service. This being the state of the case, it was thought fit to refer the matter to arbitration; for if even the Treasury allowed the claims, it was considered likely that Parliament would not give the full credit to the Company's demand. It was thought the better way, therefore; to agree to a compromise on both sides, for a sum to be submitted to the decision of Parliament, rather than contend for the strict right, as it did not appear there was any competent tribunal by which such rights could be established. It was, therefore, thought fair and just, the Company should be allowed 1,300,000*l.* for their claim of five millions (a laugh). He was convinced that gentlemen, who took the trouble of reading the papers relative to this transaction, would see that the East India Company was not hardly dealt with, and indeed he had grounds to believe that the Company was satisfied; and he was of opinion, that on a fair review of the subject, it would give no less satisfaction to Parliament and the public. In the next place, he would consider the application of this sum, and here he thought it would be most satisfactory to the House to know that this sum was to be applied to the

reduction of the loan from the Company in 1812, as was provided by the 58 Geo. III. part of the provisions of which Act the Right Honourable Gentleman then read, in order to corroborate his statement. The alleged amount of the East India Company's debt to the public was 1,357,000*l.*; but it had been agreed that on the payment by the Company of 557,000*l.* they should in future be freed from all further claim upon them. It had been thought more convenient to the public service that the sum of 557,000*l.* so repaid by the East India Company should be placed to the account of the year. This arrangement, which relieved both the public and the Company from any further demands, if just in itself to both parties, as he flattered himself it would prove to be, must, he should conceive, be extremely satisfactory to the country at large. It was necessary, however, for him to observe, that of the 557,000*l.* which it was agreed should be thus paid by the East India Company as the liquidation of their debt to the public, 20,000*l.* had already been paid; so that only 530,000*l.* remained to be voted by Parliament towards the ways and means for raising the Supply.

When a party demands five millions of money, and takes thirteen hundred thousand pounds, we violently suspect him. His whole account appears very sus-

picious, and we are inclined to believe that it is an unjust demand from beginning to end. Yet, indignant and scrupulous as you have been as to other matters, you suffer this thirteen hundred thousand pounds to slide away without, as far as I have perceived, any attempt to unravel the strange proceeding.

Here has been an *arbitration*, it seems. We are not told who the arbitrators were, and yet that was a matter of great importance. Here were claims not thought justifiable by the Treasury; others worthy of consideration, others that the public had against the Company; and all this matter you suffer to be settled without even an attempt to let us know how the affair really stands. Last year the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated the sum due to the East India Company to be *two millions*. You observed upon that occasion that *two millions and a half* were due; and, at last, the Company is to have 1,300,000*l.* from this loaded and beggared country; while that Company has its long list of pensioners and is carrying on a Government of its own, rivalling in extravagance that which you have long been so laudably endeavouring to keep in check.

As to a minute inquiry into the affairs of this East India Company as connected with the Government, the thing is impossible. There has been such confusion, and such a shameful neglect of all timely means of elucidation, that to go into particulars is impossible; I can, therefore, only lay before my readers a sort of general view of the manner in which the people of this country have been treated by the East India Company, and by the several Ministers since the Company obtained their charter in the year 1702.

In the year 1806 the country had been called upon and had paid to this East India Company two millions of money. At that time I called upon the country to look at the thing in its true light. And from the first of my Essays upon the subject I take the following passage: "To talk of the
"oppressing, the insulting, and
"the plundering of the Princes
"of India cannot be expected to
"have much effect amongst a
"people, who made not a single
"remonstrance upon the subject
"of the capture of the Spanish
"frigates, and the subsequent ap-
"propriation of their treasure,
"without a previous declaration
"of war; but, as this same peo-
"ple may possibly be alive to

“ the demands of money from
 “ themselves, for the purposes of
 “ carrying on wars against the
 “ Princes of Hindostan, informa-
 “ tion must be given them upon
 “ the subject of those demands ;
 “ and, if this information be not
 “ given, in the most clear and full
 “ manner, by the new ministry,
 “ they will be greatly wanting
 “ both to the country and them-
 “ selves. The people hear of
 “ great fortunes being made in
 “ the East ; they hear of plunder
 “ enormous, and they see the
 “ plunderers come and elbow
 “ them from their homes ; but,
 “ they never appear to perceive,
 “ that any part of this plunder is,
 “ either first or last, drawn from
 “ their own estates or their labour.
 “ They seem to think, that there
 “ are great quantities of goods
 “ and of gold and precious stones
 “ in India ; and, the only feeling
 “ which the acquirers of these
 “ excite, seems to be that of envy,
 “ and, in some instances, of emu-
 “ lation. But, that this proceeds
 “ from a gross error would, in the
 “ two millions lately paid to the
 “ East India Company out of the
 “ taxes of the nation, have been
 “ clearly demonstrated, had not
 “ our system of finance been
 “ such as to keep in darkness,
 “ upon this point, men otherwise

“ well-informed. Now, however,
 “ the demands upon the taxes
 “ must, for the purposes of India,
 “ be such as will, I should ima-
 “ gine, open men’s eyes, espe-
 “ cially if the Ministry make and
 “ promulgate an authentic state-
 “ ment of the nation’s affairs.
 “ Thirteen years ago a charter,
 “ by the influence of Mr. Pitt
 “ and his colleague Dundas, was
 “ granted to the East India Com-
 “ pany, whereby were secured to
 “ the said company of merchants
 “ certain rights of sovereignty in,
 “ and, with some exceptions, an
 “ exclusive trade with, those coun-
 “ tries in Asia which we, taking
 “ them altogether, call the East
 “ Indies. As the foundation of
 “ their firm, or partnership, of
 “ trade, this Company were allow-
 “ ed by the charter, to create a
 “ quantity of Stock ; that is to
 “ say, to make loans, in the same
 “ way that the Ministry do, and
 “ to pay annually, or quarterly,
 “ in dividends, interest upon the
 “ amount of these loans. The
 “ Company became, in fact, a sort
 “ of under government, having its
 “ loans, its scrip, its debt, or,
 “ more properly speaking, its
 “ funds, or still more properly,
 “ its engagements to pay interest
 “ to a number of individuals.—
 “ The paper, of whatever form it

" may be, which entitles the holder
 " to demand this interest, or these
 " dividends, is called East India
 " Stock, the principal of which
 " has now been augmented to the
 " sum of twelve millions sterling;
 " and, the holders of this stock
 " are called *East India proprietors*. The sources whence the
 " means of regularly discharging
 " the interest upon the stock were
 " to be derived, were, of course,
 " the profits of the trade which
 " the Company should carry on,
 " but, aided by the revenue which
 " they were authorised to raise
 " from their territory, the defence
 " and government of which were,
 " however, placed, in some sort,
 " under the controul of the mo-
 " ther government at Westmin-
 " ster. Thus set out in the world
 " this Company of Sovereigns, fur-
 " nished, at once, with dominions,
 " subjects, taxes, and a funded
 " debt. But, supposing the mea-
 " sure (which I do only by way of
 " illustration) to have been, in
 " other respects, just and politic,
 " it certainly would have been
 " neither, not to have bound
 " these sovereigns to pay the
 " nation something, or, more pro-
 " perly speaking to contribute
 " something towards the taxes,
 " by way of consideration for the
 " immense advantages to be de-

" rived from the exclusive trade
 " of a country, while the nation
 " might be called upon, as it has
 " been, to defend it by a navy,
 " and which must, at any rate,
 " be defended on the land-board
 " by troops drawn, in part at
 " least, from the population of
 " the Kingdom. It was, there-
 " fore, provided, that the Com-
 " pany, during the continuance
 " of its charter, which was to
 " be for twenty years (thirteen
 " of which have nearly expired)
 " should pay into the Exchequer
 " 500,000*l.* sterling a-year, and
 " that, upon all the money not
 " so paid, an interest should
 " arise and accumulate, at the
 " rate of fifteen per centum.—
 " Such were the principal en-
 " gagements, on both sides, under
 " which this Company started.
 " The nation has fulfilled its en-
 " gagements, and that, too, at an
 " enormous expenditure both of
 " men and of money; and, while
 " the Company has been enjoying
 " all the advantages of an exclu-
 " sive trade, and all the receipts
 " of a territorial revenue; while
 " hundreds and thousands of per-
 " sons, concerned in that trade,
 " have amassed fortunes, so great
 " as to overshadow and bear
 " down, not only the clergy and
 " the country gentlemen, but even

"the ancient nobility of the King-
 "dom, not one penny (since the
 "first year) has the Company
 "ever paid into the Exchequer
 "of the stipulated half million a
 "year; and, what is still more
 "glaringly unjust, and more
 "galling to the burdened peo-
 "ple, two millions of our taxes
 "have already been granted to
 "this Company, wherewith to
 "pay the dividends upon their
 "stock; and, such has been the
 "management, and such is now
 "the state, of the Company's af-
 "fairs, that we need not be at
 "all surprised if another million
 "be called for from us, during
 "the present Session of Parlia-
 "ment. For the causes of this
 "state of the Company's con-
 "cerns; for the reasons why
 "they have not been held to their
 "engagements; why the Act of
 "Parliament has thus been treat-
 "ed as if it had been passed
 "merely as a job; why we have
 "been called to pay to, instead
 "of to receive from, this Com-
 "pany of trading sovereigns;
 "let the eulogist of Mr. Pitt's
 "memory, let Mr. Canning, Old
 "Rose, and Colonel Pattycan;
 "let Lord Melville, with his
 "2,000*l.* a-year pension from
 "the Company (who are so poor
 "as to come to us for money);

"let the Directors, those mana-
 "gers of the Company's affairs,
 "and those staunch advocates of
 "the Minister that suffered the
 "act to lie unenforced against
 "them; let Lord Wellesley, who
 "has so long been the Governor
 "General of India: why the act
 "has not been enforced, why the
 "law has been thus shamefully
 "set at nought, let these persons
 "tell."

Now, let it be observed, this
 charter expired without one single
 farthing of the ten millions of
 money, except the first half mil-
 lion, ever having been paid into
 the Exchequer. The Act of Par-
 liament passed on the 11th of
 July 1793 ordered that half a mil-
 lion a-year should be paid into
 the Exchequer to be disposed of as
 Parliament should think proper;
 that is to say, to be applied to the
 service of the country. The Act
 provided, that, in case of failure
 to pay the half million into the
 Exchequer, the money should be
 recovered in damages in any court
 of record in Westminster; that,
 in case the Directors found it in-
 convenient to pay the sum into
 the Exchequer, the Directors
 should represent the matter to the
 Treasury, and that the Treasury
 might agree to suspend the pay-

ment by making an order to that effect; but that (and pray mark this) the Treasury should, in fourteen days after making such order, if Parliament should then be sitting, or otherwise, within fourteen sitting days of the then next sitting Parliament lay a copy of the said order and of the representation of the Court of Directors, before both Houses of Parliament.

Now during the whole of the twenty years that this Act remained in force, the money was paid into the Exchequer only the first year; and yet no copy of such order; no copy of such representation of the Directors was ever laid before either House of Parliament; and, of course the Act was violated in the most flagrant manner; the Company still owed the money, and though it might at any time have been sued for in the Courts at Westminster, it never has been paid to this day.

If war arose so as to disable the Company, the money was not to be made good, so as to impede the accumulation of a fund to pay the stockholders; but this was not to warrant the suspending of any payment into the Exchequer, without a representation of the Directors to the Treasury; with-

out an order of the Treasury, and without the laying copies of both these before the two Houses of Parliament; a thing that was never done during the whole twenty years that the charter lasted; that is to say, from the year 1793 to the year 1813, both inclusive. The Whigs came into office in 1806, and they winked at all these breaches of the law, they said not a word about the seven millions already due from the East India Company, and winked at the two millions, which during the first thirteen years of the charter had been given to that Company out of the taxes raised upon the labour of the people of these kingdoms.

At this time the Company owes the country, principal and interest, very nearly *thirty millions of money*. The reader will bear in mind, that the first half million became due in 1794. He will bear in mind that that is half a million of money going on at compound interest for eighteen years, and that the interest was *fifteen per cent*. I have only had time for a hasty calculation; but any figure-man will satisfy himself in a moment, that the Debt now due by the Company on account of that charter is now upwards of thirty millions of money; and

that Debt ought to be paid, too, or every stick and stone of these commercial sovereigns ought to be sold. What was the bargain made for ; why was an Act of Parliament passed ? Was it for the purpose of deluding and cheating the nation ? And if it was not, why has nobody ever proposed to put the law in force ?

When that charter was granted this set of merchants had great advantages given them at the expense of the nation. They were to have the exclusive trade to the East, and they had it. They were to have the territorial revenue of India. The nation was to be at the expense of fleets to defend them in their trade and possessions ; and at the expense of boards and offices connected with India. The nation had to pay dearer for articles had from the East, on account of this charter. The ship-owners of this country were prevented from employing their ships in that trade. These were monstrous advantages to the Company of Merchants ; far exceeding in value half a million a-year ; and yet of the twenty half millions the nation never got but one !

But, besides this, the nation has had to *pay five millions*, I think it is, already, to this Com-

pany ; and now it has to pay one million three hundred thousand pounds more ; and not a word do you say, Sir, in the way of sifting into this matter. The two Lords of the Admiralty, the second Post Master General, and the other little chippings that have led to such endless debates and such piles of figures, have had great importance attached to them, while not a word is said about the enormous sums squandered upon this cormorant Company and its retainers, who have swallowed, within these thirty years, directly and indirectly, a hundred millions of that money which has already been wrung principally from the labouring classes of England, or has yet to be wrung from them, in payment of the interest of the National Debt.

You can see clearly enough, Sir, how the public money, expended in the way of patronage, in the Navy, Army, Ordnance and Tax-offices, works to keep on the burdens of the people, and deprive them of their freedom. You can see how patronage in the church, and how money bestowed on countless swarms of greedy, greasy, paddy-faced and unprincipled lawyers works to the destroying of the happiness

of the people; but you seem to be totally blind to the effects of the enormous patronage of India. You can see how public money bestowed upon a taxgatherer here induces him to support the system, but you cannot see that the same effect is produced upon a father here by money bestowed on a son in India. You do not recollect that Lawyer SPANKIE, who was also Editor of the Morning Chronicle, might have been filled with those qualms which he entertained about Reform in Parliament by the promises which he had of that rich post which he finally obtained in India. You cannot perceive, I'll warrant you, that the Morning Chronicle will strike at no India abuses as long as a son of the late Mr. PERRY is swelling up into wealth under the Company in India. You are not able to discover how it is that almost the whole swarm of your countrymen are held steady under the banners of the system by the taxes of England which they suck down through the channel of India. Mr. VANSITTART said, that the Company was to be negotiated with, as if an *independent State*. Our misfortune is, that it is not an independent state; but a perfect monster in politics; England supporting all

the expense of it, and the emigrating Scotch swallowing all the profits. Talk of the corruptions in Scotch Burghs, indeed, the Burghs would be of little consequence were it not for English taxes: the Burghs would be pure enough were it not for that Asiatic conductor through which the fruit of English labour is sucked down the throats of the Scotch. Thirteen hundred thousand pounds are now, in addition to all that is gone before, going down into that insatiable maw; and you say not one single word about the matter! You have sometimes talked of a Reform of the Parliament. Do you think that such a parliament would cause to be paid out of the taxes those immense sums every year, which are paid directly and indirectly to feed the hungry vultures that sail for India? The Americans, if we consider the cost of India to us, import every article from the East at about a fourth part of what those articles cost us. They bring them to Europe and sell them cheaper than they can be sold after being brought even by the East India Company. To what end, then, are we taxed for the support of this colony? I ask to what end we are thus taxed for

this purpose; and it is impossible for you to answer, except by acknowledging that it is for the purposes of that very patronage and very influence against which you have so often, and so justly inveighed, and to curtail which, you have made so many laudable exertions.

During the last war, our pretty gentlemen published the intercepted correspondence of Napoleon. It was not thought to be a very honourable proceeding, especially as some of his letters related solely to his private affairs and private feelings. Some years afterwards, the French intercepted a parcel of private letters from India, in which that wary Scot, Mr. Stuart Hall, made a very conspicuous figure, and in which one of the Bentincks very fully explained the real uses, the real practical purposes of our Empire in the East. The whole elucidation was comprised in one short phrase: *to get money!* Foolish people in this country think that the money is got there; and so it is; but it is only as my men get beer at the lower end of my garden, by carrying it or having it sent down to them from the house. The poor wretches in India are, indeed, slaves. They work for their masters; and we squeeze

those masters; but as to the money that is got; as to the several millions a-year, that formerly used to be brought home to build big white houses on the tops of hills, and the probably one million a-year that is now brought home for that purpose, and for the buying up of estates in England, be you assured that it has come from English taxes, the payment of which, in part, at least, requires the surrender of those estates. An additional thirteen hundred thousand pounds are now about to be applied to pass through the same funnel and for the same purposes, and you, the great hero of retrenchment and economy leave the stupid English landlords to hug themselves with joy at the thought of paying little more than a quarter part of what the East India Company demanded!

It is the most fallacious notion in the world, that, because the money is received abroad, we do not pay it. It may, with just as much sense, be said, that we do not pay that hopeful youth of the Grenvilles, young Wynn, because he touches the money in Switzerland. There is the Honourable Chas. W. Wyndham, who has, according to the Parliamentary Return of 1808, 4,000*l.* a-year as Secretary and Clerk of the Ex-

residents in Jamaica; and, there is the *Honourable* Percy Chas. Wyndham, who has, according to the same Return, 7,000*l.* a-year as Register in Chancery in Jamaica. These blades are brothers, I believe, of the *Earl of Egre-mont*. They have had these places ever since 1763. So that they have received *Six hundred and forty-nine thousand pounds*, principal money from these places, without, I believe, ever having even seen poor Jamaica. Besides this, the *Honourable* Percy Chas. Wyndham, has, ever since 1763, been *Secretary and Clerk of the Courts in Barbadoes*! The income of this is not stated in the Return. It would, perhaps, go far towards making up the round million! However, here we have confessed 649,000*l.* got from Jamaica. Well, say knaves, but Jamaica pays it. Yes; but, we are compelled to pay Jamaica back in the price of our sugar, and in those expenses which the defence of Jamaica requires, and which expenses all the colonies would gladly bear themselves, if gentry of this sort were not fastened upon them. The colonies bear, indeed, a part of the burden, but we at home here are the principal sufferers; and there is not a labouring man in England,

who does not help to pay these Wyndhams. You hit hard, Sir; but you do not often hit in the right place. You lay on upon the hips and shoulders and elbows, instead of touching them under the short ribs and behind the ear. Two good hits you have made: that at the "*Spiritual Persons*," who have half a pay as military and naval officers, whose half-pay is "*a retaining for for future services*," while, at the same time, there is a law to prevent "*Spiritual Persons*" from ever being officers in army or navy. This was a good hit, but not followed up. The other was in the right place, and well laid in: I mean that at the Irish-Tithe-gentry. A set of Resolutions stating the number of seats of a well-stocked Boroughmonger; then stating the several good things possessed by him and all his relations; with the amount of them separately; and, lastly, the total amount. These Resolutions would, perhaps, give way to the "*Order of the Day*;" but, only think of the effect "*out of doors*!" There could be no mistakes here: they could not trip you up upon errors of figures. The thing would lie in a nut-shell; and, whether still house or thick house, the effect would be the same. At last the

whole might be put together; and we should then see, I believe, what has become of a great part, if not of the whole, of the money that makes that wonder of the world, and that envy of surrounding nations, called *the National Debt*! But, you can do nothing effectual if you blink India.

There was a Sir *Timothy Metcalfe* some years ago, who defended the East India Company by saying that it was a great benefactor to the nation in *giving* it so many millions a-year in the *duty on tea*. Posterity may judge of the pass to which we were come, when this could be listened to in the House of Commons without absolutely earning the orator a kicking. It did, however, not earn him any such thing; and there was not found in the House the man with a sufficiency of sense and of spirit to remind the impudent babbler that these several millions a-year were paid by the people of this country themselves. We were then in the heyday of glory and paper-money. Loan upon loan marked the progress. The foolish landlords thought there never would be an end to their prosperity; and they seemed to care not a straw about the sufferings of the labouring classes,

whose happiness they sacrifice without remorse to glut the maw of the Indian devourers.

What, I wonder, would the American people say, if they had to pay a tax in order to be given to their Merchants who trade to India. India is full as beneficial to their commerce as it is to ours. They rival us in the trade. Their navigation derives more benefit from it than ours does. Yet they have no "Honourable East India Company;" and the Congress would as soon think of passing an act or a vote, to cause themselves to be hanged, as they would think of levying a tax to raise money to be given to Merchants. What sense, then, can there be in our going on in this manner? What sense in throwing away millions in order to narrow the limits of our trade? Why keep up this voracious Company? To restrain other nations would be natural enough; but why restrain a part of ourselves? Why give a monopoly to one part of the traders? If the public Treasury received payment for the monopoly, that might be something. There might then be room for dispute about the matter; but why give a part of the traders of the nation a monopoly, and then raise taxes

upon the nation to pay them for that monopoly. If the goings on in India ; if the proceedings in that country ; if that treatment of the inoffensive natives which has given us such a character throughout the world and which has furnished the French with so many a sarcastic observation on our "*humanity*" with regard to the Negroes ; if this yielded us *profit*, there would be something to say for it ; very little, to be sure ; but there would be something : as it is, there is nothing, except it be that we commit these dreadful deeds because we like them so well, that rather than not commit them, we will give up the fruit of our labour to support us in the commission.

The nation, however, knows little or nothing of the matter. It hears talk of the *riches of India*, as it hears talk of the riches of Peru and Mexico, little thinking all the while, that it is its own earnings that make the adventurers shine, and that it is a full participator in the misery which it causes those adventurers to inflict on the unoffending inhabitants of Asia. This branch of the system, however, growing on along with the rest, has, at last, attained nearly the utmost extent of its

dimensions. The system of borrowing has come to an end. The resources are fast drying up ; and all the parts of the system are fast getting into the state of the members unfed from the circulation proceeding from the belly. We are hastening into that state so prophetically described by the ABBE' REYNAL, who, I remember, most emphatically dwelt upon the final effects of our system in India.

Upon the face of the thing it is monstrous to hold any colony that requires taxation levied upon the mother country itself to be given to the owners of that colony ; yet millions upon millions have been voted in this way. The concern is, therefore, manifestly an affair of *patronage*, and nothing more ; and if the thirteen hundred thousand pounds new to be voted, were to be directly distributed here in London, for the purposes of influence in support of the present system, it could not answer that purpose more effectually than it now will.

As to the figure that the thing now makes before the public, what do we need more than the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself to know, that, at the very least, a most minute and strict inquiry by the

House of Commons; ought to have taken place, before a farthing of this money were voted? He begins by telling us that the East India Company had demanded five millions, and that they had agreed to take thirteen hundred thousand pounds? What should we think of a tradesman who suffered his Bill to be pared down in this way? The Chancellor tells us that there has been a negotiation, as with an *independent state*! For what, then, are these *Boards of Control*? For what are all these offices and officers? For what? Why for patronage, to be sure; and so is the whole thing from the beginning to the end.

But will the Parliament, under all these suspicious circumstances, vote this sum of money *without inquiry*? An *arbitration* has been sitting. But who was the arbitrator, by whom appointed, or how chosen? Would such a story satisfy the Chief Justice, as a ground for judgment in his Court, were the case of a sum of ten pounds? Will the Parliament pass this vote without solemn investigation? And will you suffer such vote to pass without as great a struggle at least, as you have in many cases laudably made with a view of preventing the squandering of five hundred pounds?

With this question I close my letter, not without feeling as strongly as any man in the country for the efforts that you have made in our behalf; but I cannot close it without adding that I never can admire the straining at a gnat and the swallowing of a camel.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
MONEY - HOARDERS.

Kensington, 3 July, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

SINCE the date of my last Letter, the *Small Note Bill* has passed through a second reading. There was nothing that they call a debate about it; but there were some pithy remarks on the part of Mr. JAMES; which, together with my comments as published in the Statesman of this day, you will by - and - by see. But, before I come to that matter, pray let me

have your attention to what was said on the subject of the Debt in the Lower House of the Collective, on the 1st of July, when Mr. VANTASSANT brought forward the thing very properly denominated the *Budget*.

The principal object of my last Letter was to convince you, that, with regard to the currency and the funds, every thing was in a state of the greatest *uncertainty*. It is an ancient maxim in legislation, that, *miserable are those who live under uncertain laws*. Miserable, indeed, are these who live under laws which are uncertain with regard to the *money* of the country in which they live. Without money there is, in fact, no property. Money, is, at last, the measure of the value of every thing; and if you render that a thing of uncertainty there is no certainty in any thing. Famine may come and supplant abundance; and, as we now see, in the case of Ireland, industry, fertile soil, happy seasons, all are useless if the value of money be uncer-

tain, there being not the least doubt in the mind of any rational man that the dreadful evils, described in another part of this Register, are all to be ascribed to the shifting and changing in the value of money.

I before described to you the great *uncertainty*, in which we now are in this respect. What I am now going to lay before you will most amply confirm that description. The bringing forward of the budget gave occasion to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to inform the House, that the Bank (I mean the Borough Bank,) had resolved to discount at *four per cent.*; and the little gentleman said that this would tend to *relieve* the country. He took occasion at the same time to observe, that this measure was a very proper and natural one, and had been adopted in consequence of the resolution of Parliament to uphold public credit; and just upon the heels of that he brought out these words, "Some persons advised a forced operation to reduce fur-

"*that* the interest of the Debt.
 "To that, however, he could not
 "give his consent, as it appeared
 "to him to be contrary to all the
 "rules of a wise political eco-
 "nomy."

You will remark here on the *word* operation. This pretty gentleman is a great man for operations! You will remark also on the word *forced*; and on the word *further*; so that, you see, either he regards his operation relative to the five per cents. as a reduction of the interest of the Debt, or he regards this discounting at four per cent. by the Bank as being a measure, which is, as a matter of course, to lead to a reduction of all the interest of the Debt from five per cent. to four per cent.

Very well, stick a pin there, then, so far, so good. But you have now to hear these broken sentences; these half-uttered intentions, more fully and broadly stated by JOHN SMITH. And before we go any further we must observe who this JOHN SMITH is.

He is one of the brothers of that SMITH of Nottingham, who was a banker, or stocking manufacturer, or both, in Nottingham about thirty years ago. This SMITH was made a *lord* during the time of Pitt, and is now called Lord CARRINGTON. For what reason, God above knows, for I am sure I do not. However, he is a large *proprietor* of certain precious things; and he has several brothers in the House of Commons, and one son, I believe. One of these brothers is the identical JOHN SMITH, whose speech I am about to lay before you, and who is one of the bankers in, I believe, the greatest shop of that sort in London, excepting that of the Borough Bank itself.

Now, then, you will please further to observe, that, when the Kentish Petition praying for a *just reduction of the National Debt*, was before the House, this very Mr. SMITH fell upon it in the most violent manner. He called it atrocious; said he was himself a Freeholder of Kent, and

that he was *ashamed* of the conduct of his brother freeholders. In short, every thing that man could say, in a short speech, was said by him, against the prayer for a just reduction of the interest of the Debt.

Let us now see what this same man said on the first of July, carrying along in our minds what was said by the Chancellor of the Exchequer before: his words were these, as I find them reported in the Morning Chronicle.

"Mr. J. SMITH said, he was
 " *most friendly to the principle of*
 " *reducing the interest paid to*
 " *the public creditor.* There were
 " *two ways* of effecting that ob-
 " *ject; one was a fraudulent*
 " *way, a way which would lead*
 " *to the ruin of the country, to*
 " *the destruction of its institu-*
 " *tions, and in particular to the*
 " *speedy destruction of the land-*
 " *ed interest* [hear, hear, hear!].
 " The other means was by rais-
 " *ing the funds to induce the pub-*
 " *lic creditor to take something*
 " *less in the way of interest.* If

" the peace were, as he hoped it
 " would, to continue—if economy
 " were strictly practised, he hop-
 " ed to see the 4½ per cent. re-
 " duced to 4; and the 4's and 3½
 " reduced to 3. Such an arrange-
 " ment would effect an important
 " saving to the public, and that
 " ought to be the great object
 " which Parliament should have
 " in view."

Pray look well at the words. You that have sold out of the funds and got your money safe, look well at the words, and consider well whom they come from. Let those who have not yet sold out of the funds pay still more attention to these words, and recollect from whom they come; and also recollect that they are an explanation to the dark hints thrown out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is, I hope, pretty clear to you what the intention is, but I must, nevertheless, offer you a few remarks upon it.

You see that this man, though he so roughly treated the people

of Kent for manfully proposing a just reduction of the interest of the Debt, is, himself, "*most friendly*" to the *principle of reduction of the interest of the Debt*. He does not say a just reduction; but he is not for what he calls a *fraudulent* reduction; but, as I shall presently show you, the way that he proposes would be both unjust and fraudulent.

The scheme is to *raise the funds*, as he calls it; that is to say, by one trick and another, to get the funds up to a high nominal price. And what then? Why, then, "to *induce* the public creditor to take something less in the way of interest." Now, mark this word induce. How are the fundholders to be induced to take less than five per cent.? How are they to be induced to let their stock be reduced to a lower denomination? Why by getting the *great ones*, as I once before observed, to combine and give their assent; or, which is much more likely, to

proclaim, as in the case of the five per cents., but without a particle of law to show for it; to proclaim the intention of the government to reduce the stock, and to put the question to them in the way of *dissent* instead of *assent*; and then pass a law to bind them to this compulsory bargain.

This is the inducing scheme. It would fail of the great object; that is to say, it would not save the landlords estates. I have no doubt, that, if once begun, it would by no means stop at taking off a half per cent. of the interest, as this Smith proposes; I have no doubt that it would go on till it did not leave a half per cent.; but it could never go on quietly to this length. There would be a hubbub and a blowing up long before it came to two per cent.

But pray mark the *injustice* of the scheme. For, according to this scheme, there would be no discrimination. All the *Widows' funds* all over the country; all

the *Friendly Societies*; all the *Savings' Banks* people; all the ignorant and deluded creature, that have placed their collections, their only security against poverty in old age; all these who have placed their money in the funds, as it is called, all the property placed in the funds by the compulsory decrees of the Court of Chancery; all these parties, who cannot, if they would, put themselves in a state of security, would be thus robbed, stripped of their last farthing under the name of inducement!

The men of Kent prayed for a *just* reduction of the National Debt, and this SMITH called it *fraudulent*. *Fraudulent* means something done *slily*; something done under *false pretences*; something that has deception in it. Which was fraudulent, then; the proposition, the open, distinct, proposition of the men of Kent; or the scheme which we have here laid before us? It is useless to press this point any further. The

case is so plain that every one must see the bottom of it.

As to the feasibility of the scheme, though I am aware that nothing is equal in stupidity to a besotted fundholder; though I am aware that the wretch will believe in almost anything rather than give up his notion of infallibility in the funds; though I am aware that the base and unnatural monster will almost cut your throat for endeavouring to awaken him to a sense of his danger; still it does seem impossible that the crawling creature should not see at the next touch, or the touch after, that he is in danger of wanting a bit of bread, unless he in time rescues himself from the peril. It does seem impossible that any person should suffer their only means of existence to remain in such a state; and, therefore, the scheme, one would think, must necessarily fail, by the whole thing going to pieces, at the first or second of those touches that this SMITH recommends.

If there be (a thing of which I

very much doubt) any good man or woman who is a fundholder, by their own free will, let such person consider in time, what must be the effect of the *inducements*, the prospect of which gives such joy to this SMITH. Let such person reflect on the probable worth of the stock after the next touch; and, if there be children to provide for, what must the person having the care of those children be, if he or she suffer them to be exposed to the consequence of even the first of these touches? However, children must abide by the fate prepared for them by parents, guardians, and trustees. "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge;" by which observation the Scripture would warn us, that it is reasonable that the children of the foolish or wicked parents, should, from natural causes, suffer on account of that folly or wickedness. It would be the extreme of injustice if a law were made to make the children of the wise and the virtuous par-

ticipate in the sorrows of the children of the foolish and the profligate. One of the strongest inducements to care and virtuous conduct in parents is, the reflection that they lead to the security and happiness of their children. Any law, therefore, that would compel the whole community to contribute towards putting the children of the foolish and the wicked upon the same footing as those of the wise and the virtuous would be a law against the order of nature, and against every principle of justice.

Let those parents, guardians, and trustees, who wilfully expose children to the peril, bear this in mind; and let them remember, that they, and they only, are responsible for all the consequences. As to such as are of full age and full power to act for themselves, to no pity will they be entitled. They can now at any moment put themselves in a state of security; and even those who are restrained by trustees, can *sell out their interest in the*

thing ; so that these *touches*, recommended by SMITH, come when they may, will leave all this description of persons precisely in the state in which they ought to be left.

My friends, there was an IF in SMITH's speech ; and an IF of very great importance. Nay, there were two IFS, but we will take the first IF, in the first place. " If *peace* were, as he hoped it would, to *continue* ;" what does he mean ? To continue *for ever* ? What a Statesman ! What a SMITH CARINGTON ! Aye ; then if it were *not to continue* ! What would happen then ? So that, here we are, proclaiming to the whole world ; to most insatiable rivals, and most bitter enemies, because we have loaded those enemies with intolerable insult ; here we are, having sanctioned the stripping of the Paris Museums, and having voted money to build Waterloo monuments ; here we are, hated by almost the whole

world, from one cause or another ; with a most anxious desire in America and France to pull us down ; here we are, proclaiming to those nations, that continued peace or total ruin is our inevitable lot ! Well done, JOHN SMITH ! After this, the men of Kent, may, perhaps, be able to console themselves for that shame which you expressed at their conduct, in openly and manfully calling for a just reduction of the interest of the Debt.

The other IF was " if *economy* were *strictly practised*." What does he mean ? Does he mean to discharge the army, dismantle the navy, and so forth ? If all this be done ; if there be not a soldier or sailor left ; even that would not preserve the landed estates, unless the interest of the Debt were brought down to less than twenty millions a-year. Sixteen millions a-year was all the country had to pay before the days of paper-money ; and more than that it cannot pay in a gold

currency, without a transfer more or less of the estates of the present landlords.

So that, you see, my Friends, the thing is in that state out of which it is never to be brought by any of those miserable measures, which Mr. VANSITTART calls *operations*. It is in that state from which nothing on earth can rescue it. There must be a general adjustment amongst all the parties. Fundholders, Landlords, all must make mutual sacrifices; and this is not to be effected without a Reform of the Parliament. If a refusal of that just and necessary measure be persisted in, there is no human remedy. We are in the hands of God and must wait patiently to see the manner in which he will dispose of us. In the meanwhile the man must be little short of a brute who does not, if he can, *secure some pieces of gold*.

This brings me to those remarks, which I referred you to, in the context of my letter, on the second reading of the law that is

now passing for the making of *small paper-money*, which remarks I shall now insert, without further preface, and shall add nothing to them, seeing that they so plainly speak for themselves. Get gold while you can, and I remain,

Your Friend, and

Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

REMARKS,

On the Debate on the small Note Bill, in the House of Commons, on the 2d July 1822.

SMALL-NOTE BILL!—Here we come. The words are fair, the subject great, the thing done, almost secretly; and there we must watch as pussy watches for her prey. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved the second reading of the small-notes Bill. Mr. HUME asked for some explanations. The reporters say, "We could not collect the answer of the Right Hon. Gentleman; but it appeared to satisfy Mr. Hume, and Mr. RICARDO"—Mr. JAMES wished to know whether bank-notes were to be made a legal tender after

May 1823? This was the home question; and now mind the answer. The worthy CHANCELLOR replied, "That every man was liable after that period, to pay his just debts in the current coin of the realm." Now what does this mean? If I hold a one-pound rag of a country rag-man, that is a just debt due from him to me, and is the ragman to be called upon to pay me in gold? *Nous verrons!* Though that phrase, which only means we shall see, was once so displeasing to Mr. HILY HUTCHINSON. Lord FOLKESTONE objected to the Bill, because it would bring back the forgeries and the hangings. Mr. HART DAVIS supported the Bill, because the currency was not abundant, and because the present measure would make it more abundant without interfering with the other enactments respecting the currency. How so, Mr. DAVIS? We take upon ourselves to assure you, that if there be no legal tender clause, the currency cannot become more abundant than it is, but on the contrary, will be a great deal less abundant after May 1823. Nothing will be done without legal tender; and legal tender is a repeal of PEEL's Bill, in part. Mr. JAMES said, that as the people were to have the option of demanding gold or paper, they deserve whatever might happen if they did not demand the gold; but, nevertheless, he was still opposed to the

principle of the Bill. Mr. PASCOE GRENFELL had understood, when the Bill was introduced, that the country-bankers were to have the option of paying in Sovereigns, or in Bank of England Notes; he did not see any provision in the Bill to that effect; and if not introduced by the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, he himself should introduce such a clause! Ah, PASCOE, sayest thou so, PASCOE? What, then, thou art determined that we shall have that *Feast of the Gridiron*, to which, whenever we hold it, thou shalt certainly have an invitation. This is legal tender; mark that. It is legal tender of Borough bank-notes after the month of May 1823; and that is a part repeal of PEEL's Bill. Mr. JAMES was so decidedly hostile to the principle of the Bill, which appeared to be the first step in the road back of the mischievous paper-money, that he was determined to divide the House upon it. Mr. CURWEN trusted his honourable friend (Mr. JAMES) would not divide the House. He said, "the country stood in need of the measure, and in the country they preferred the small-notes of country bankers to any other species of currency!" Indeed, Mr. CURWEN, why then does Mr. PASCOE GRENFELL propose to compel the people to take the country bank-notes instead of the gold, that is to say, if the country-bankers themselves choose to compel them? And how

is it, we pray you, Mr. CURWEN, that the country-bankers will not now pay in gold? And how is it that Scotch bankers will not give gold for their own notes, though to our certain knowledge, some of them have been offered a *premium* for so doing? Mr. CURWEN, pray attend to us for a single moment. To pass this bill without a legal tender of any sort, is a violation of PEEL's Bill; or at least a departure from it; but without the legal tender, it is just as useless in producing an addition to the quantity of currency in the country as your telling the Agricultural Committee and as their publishing in the Appendix to their Report laid before Parliament, that you the year before grew two and thirty tons an acre upon four acres of Swedish turnips; just as useless, we say, is this Bill of the Chancellor in producing an increase of currency, as your Swedish turnip story was in producing a conviction of the existence of agricultural distress.

FAMINE IN IRELAND.

THE following article is taken from the Statesman of Saturday last. It contains matter so incredible, so shocking as to the facts, so every way worthy of being re-

membered, that I cannot refrain from giving it a place in the Register. I beg the reader to bear in mind that these terrible things never could have existed, if there had been in Ireland that system of Poor Laws, which so many ignorant and unfeeling men are endeavouring to undermine and destroy. One would think that these men would now hang their heads with shame; but they are as impudent as they are ignorant and unfeeling. If the Poor Laws were in existence in Ireland, we should have seen the absurdity of subscriptions, and balls and playhouse exhibitions to relieve a starving people. The people never could have been in a starving state; indeed. There *must* have been enough food left for those who raised all the food. The Overseers would have gone with the law in their hand, and demanded subsistence for the labourer before the corn was sent away to pay rent and tithe. What! Has not the earth yielded sufficiency for those who till it? Yes; for during the whole time of this famine it has been pouring its thousands upon thousands of quarters of corn into the English markets. When some of the persons belonging to Scotland applied for grants of public money

to relieve the famishing people there in 1819, Lord LIVERPOOL answered, and very justly: "No, "make Poor Laws, such as we "have in England, we will not "tax the English to keep your "poor." The Morning Chronicle should bear this in mind, when it is railing against the Poor Laws of England.—I do not say, however, that a similar answer ought to be given in a case of extremes as that of Ireland. For such a case, I would not, if I had been the Minister, wait for the passing of a law. I would have employed the *troops* to collect provisions in any part of Ireland where they were to be found.—However, this is an evil not to be cured by any means like those that have been adopted; and if other means be not employed, dreadful must be the consequences; but such is our state, that I do not think it safe to mention the measures which I think ought to be adopted; though they may be just in themselves, and agreeable to every principle of the settled laws of the land.—Almost every morning, soon after sunrise, I see groups of these poor ragged, emaciated creatures of Irish, passing through Kensington into London. I am told that they come from Bristol, and that they are sent back again

soon after their arrival. This morning early I saw a wagon load outward bound, men, women, and children; much more than half naked, and exhibiting a scene certainly much more deplorable than Negroes at a mart; for they have, at any rate, a sufficiency of food. How long this will continue; how long this state of things can possibly endure, I pretend not to say;—but I can discover no reason for its ceasing or for its being mitigated, unless a radical change of the system take place. It does really seem that men with minds wholly different even in their formation from those of the men at present in power, are necessary to put to rights the affairs of this nation. I shall now insert the article before alluded to.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. — (Thursday, 27th July)—Want of room compelled us to break off yesterday without noticing what was said upon the subject of the famine in Ireland. To know that there are any part of the people of this kingdom in a state of want of a sufficiency of food, is calculated to call forth, in the first place, compassion for the sufferers, and in the next place, a frank declaration of our

opinions, if it were safe to declare them, towards those who have had the uncontrolled management of the affairs of the nation, and who have long been drawing sixty millions of pounds sterling a-year from it in taxes. No language could furnish us with words adequate to the expression of what we ought to feel, if even a short allowance of food was all that could be obtained by so large a portion of the people as make up the population of three or four counties of Ireland. Of what description, then, ought our feelings to be when Sir JOHN NEWPORT, standing up in his place in the House of Commons, states as a positive and undeniable fact, not loosely and generally, that famine is raging in Ireland, but that, in one parish *fifteen persons had actually perished by famine*; that twenty-eight more persons were past all hopes of recovery; that one hundred and twenty persons, still in the same parish, were ill from fever produced by want; that other parishes were nearly in the same state; that in one parish there had been found food only for two days, and, at the date of the letter, they had been without food three days; and that, horrible to relate! in this parish the Catholic parish priest had actually prepared his parishioners for their inevitable death, by absolution and those other rites used by the Catholics to persons just

going to die!—We are fully convinced that a tale like this was never told before in the civilized world. And, at this very moment the measures of the ministry for the relief of Agriculture in England are bottomed upon the assertion made a hundred times over, that, for a series of years, up to the present time inclusive, the crops have been *superabundant*, and that we are suffering the evil of over-production, and that the remedy for the farmer is, a diminished quantity in the harvest. Oh! unhappy Kingdom! Whose people are dying with famine amidst a superabundance of food! —Mr. GOULBURN, who has lately had a large pension settled upon him in case he should be out of office, and who is now what they call Chief Secretary of Ireland: this Mr. GOULBURN said that, with every exertion on the part of Government; — — — — but we must take his words; for this is a subject of too much importance to be passed over slightly and to be easily forgotten.

“ Mr. GOULBURN acquitted the Right Honourable Baronet of any but the purest motives, and assured him that he felt as deeply as the Right Honourable Baronet, or any Gentleman, the awful calamity: the more so, because with every exertion on the part of the Government, and with all the aid of man much misery

" *must take place.* He alluded particularly to those parts of the country in which from the state of communication, the conveyance of provisions was a matter of time and difficulty. He had that day received accounts to a degree confirmatory of the assertions of the Right Honourable Baronet, as to the extent of the suffering, especially in the county of Galway. Some time since the accounts from that county were so alarming that though he knew the Lord Lieutenant was in communication with the gentry there, he had thought fit to ship to two ports of Galway, cargoes of the most portable species of provision, *naval biscuit.* In consequence of the intelligence he had received that day, he had directed further shipments (hear!); and though all efforts might be insufficient to avoid the calamity, they might have the satisfaction of having done all that was in their power. In addition to what was done on this side of the water, the Lord Lieutenant had now the additional sum of 100,000*l.* which according to the terms of the vote, was granted for the employment of the poor, but which, where there were no means of employing them, would be applied to their immediate relief. The engineer who directed the works to be undertaken, had

" also a discretion to act upon the instant, without reference to any authority, that no delay might interfere with the efficacy of the relief (hear!)."

This is very pretty talk; but though no power on earth can bring the dead to life, Mr. Goulburn will find it very hard to persuade us, that the same power which can shut people up in their houses from sunset to sunrise is not equal to the discovering of the approaching starvation of that same people. He will find it very hard to persuade us that those who possess the former power did not possess the latter, and still more difficult will he find it to persuade us that those who could raise a surplus of five millions a-year as a Sinking Fund to add to the stock of the fundholders, had not the power to provide the means of preventing the starvation of these, whose situation they must have known so well, when they had the power to watch them so narrowly as to shut them up in their houses from sunset to sunrise.—As to the giving employment to these poor creatures; as to the laying out of taxes upon public works under an engineer in order to convey money to the starving creatures to purchase them food, was there ever such a thing heard of before since man was man? How are the people to labour without the strength to labour? How are

they to have the strength without first having the food? And then again, why not give them the money and let them employ the labour upon the land; why, when they are in a state of famishing for want of food, erect *public works* out of which no food can come; why draw away the food that is to be got with the money and employ it in a way from which no creation of new food can proceed? Vain, however, is it to put questions like these to those who have the support of an unreformed Parliament.—Mr. VESEY FITZGERALD, who called Mr. GOULBURN his Right Hon. Friend, vouched for the fact, stated by Sir JOHN NEWPORT, of the preparation for death by the Catholic priests. He eulogised the *patience* with which the famished creatures had borne their sufferings; and he was *loudly cheered*! We know not well what to say on the subject of this *patience*; and shall therefore hold our tongues. This gentleman related that an aged clergyman having received a donation for the famishing people, he was afraid to attempt the distribution lest his frame should be unable to sustain the pressure of the raving applicants. He, therefore, “moored a boat at some distance from the shore, whence he sent the tickets for provisions from the store; but such was the earnestness of the unfortunate claimants, that those who were

“strong enough to bear the buffeting of the waves, swam off to the boat, clinging to it till he delivered them the tickets for the relief of their families.—(Hear, hear.)”—Such is the picture which the Irish Members themselves give of the state of their country. In such a case all laws and usages ought to give way; all maxims of policy; all rules; all general principles. Ships, boats, vessels of every description ought to be sent off, and from every port. If money were wanted there are troops, and they should be sent to seize the food wherever it is to be found until the shocking scene be put an end to. If we had been Ministers, we would long ago have ascertained the facts, and bacon should have been a crown a pound in London before a Catholic priest in Ireland should have been called upon to prepare his parishioners for death from starvation. But what a horrible reflection that the people of only *two or three counties* in Ireland should be suffered to be in this state. If Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and Monmouthshire were even approaching such a state, would Kent or Norfolk, or in short, any other county, enjoy, we will not say a moment's happiness, but a moment's peace, until the distressed counties were as well off as themselves? Where are all the other counties in Ireland? What are they at? Where

are all the landlords and all the clergy of that country? Are we told that the Catholic priests are preparing whole parishes for death, and do we see amongst the means of relief a Ball at the Opera House in London! One thing it is necessary always to bear in mind; and that is, that Ireland has not been governed by jacobins and radicals. Let what may have been the cause of these calamities, we, the jacobins and radicals, have had no hand in producing them, to which we have only to add, show us, *loyal men*, if you can, that jacobins and radicals could have produced a worse state of things. Mr. WILBERFORCE said, that whatever money was wanted on this occasion, ought to be given. HOLME SUMNER thought an Address to the Crown was the proper measure, authorising *any expenditure* that might be necessary.—We, for our parts, are for relieving the people, cost what it may. But, at the same time, pray let us make this observation. *Money*, it seems, is wanted in Ireland. Now people do not eat money. No, but the money will buy them something to eat. What, *the food is there*, then, it seems! Pray observe this, reader. Pray observe this, and let the parties get out of the concern if they can. **THE FOOD IS THERE;** but those that have it in their possession will not give it without the money! And we know that the

food is there; for since this famine has been declared in Parliament, *thousands of quarters of corn* have been imported every week from Ireland into England! It is the money, then, that the poor creatures want, and that they cannot have, except a part of that is restored which has been taken away from them in *taxes*. To this point we always come at last; here is the immediate cause of all the evils that afflict the country.—In going downward, we next find the debt and other consequences of the war; and at the bottom we find the root of the whole, the *want of a real Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament*. The evil is *radical*, that is to say, belonging to the root; and the cure must be radical or there can be no cure at all. We have never yet heard what are the means to make this starvation cease; and we are firmly convinced that it will not cease with this season nor with next season, nor with any season until the interest of the Debt be reduced, and the taxation lowered. There is no scarcity except scarcity of money, amongst those who labour. To talk, therefore, of sending seed potatoes, and to amuse ourselves with other expedients, such as are put forth by the stupid press of London, can only serve to push things on to a state, to get out of which there will be only *one way*.

[Sent with the Author's hope, that it may serve as a piece for *recitation*, to form part of the entertainments at the *Feast of the Gridiron*.—It is accepted, as such, with many thanks.]

SOLILOQUY.

To pay, or not to pay, that is the question :—
Whether 'tis nobler in 'the House,' to suffer
The gibes and tauntings of audacious Cobbett;
Or to call up 'the Swiss' of 'the Collective,'
And, by repealing, end them?—To vote,—
to act,—

No more;—and, by an act, to say we end
Distress-petitions, and the thousand bankrupt
shocks

We yet must hear of,—'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wished. To vote;—to act;—
To act! perchance to puff out; aye, there's
the rub;

For in that dread repeal what storms may
come,

When we have shuffled off this hated bill,

Must give us pause: There's the respect,

That makes Resumption-bill of so long life:

For who would bear the suffering nation's
curse,

The Landlord's sigh, the Corn-dealer's groan,

The Farmer's clam'rous tongue, the law's
decay,

The prayers of frightened Bankers, and the
dismal tales

Which we must from the ruin'd borrower hear,
When we ourselves might our quietus make

With a bare "question!" Who would office
have,

To cant and lie about this cursed bill;

But that the dread of something from repeal,—

The paper-money-craze, from whose mark

No Government escapes,—puzzles straggles;

And makes us rather drain the country's
blood;

Than crush blackworm which we love so
well?

Thus Cash-bill does make cowards of us all;

And thus the native hue of this fair'd isle

Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of want;

And enterprizes of great pith and moment,

With this regard, their currents turn awry,

And lose the name of prudence.

My friends will be glad to hear that my son JAMES is arrived from New York. This ends the trip, which *Sidmouth* gave us in 1817! James is come almost on purpose to see *Lawyer Scarlett*. It was hardly worth the trouble, my readers will say; but, the Lawyer may afford us some sport yet, if we can get him fairly out in full chase, and clear of all his covers. —I now inform my readers most positively, that all the stories that we have heard about *American distress*, are pure unmixed lies, fabricated for the vile purpose of deceiving the burthened and insulted people of this Kingdom.

The United States were never more happy, and, perhaps, never so prosperous. There has been no distress; not a single petition has been thought of, either to the Congress or to one of the State Legislatures. There have been no complaints except amongst the vagabonds that had inundated the country with their worthless promissory notes, and base paper-money; and they have complained only because they could not carry on their rogueries any

longer.—All that we have heard upon the subject has been a gross lie from the beginning to the end.—I state this upon the best possible authority; and I call upon the manifold liars and impostors to contradict the statement if they have yet the impudence left to do it.—What must be the state of a country, when, to keep the people quiet, such enormous lies are deemed necessary! Who can ever believe these liars again?



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LAWYER SCARLETT.

On his Poor Law Project, as
illustrated by the Famine in
Ireland.

Kennington, 10 July, 1832.

LAWYER SCARLETT,

Now I think I have you on the
hip; and I will endeavour to make
the most of you. I made a good
deal of you before. It was surely
your evil genius that induced you
to lay hold of a project relating
to a subject, which of all others
was most interesting to every re-
flecting man in the nation; be-
cause it was intimately connected
with the well-being of the most
numerous and most defenceless
class of the community. The
first duty of every man of talent,

is to use that talent in behalf of
the labouring classes, whenever
he perceives an attempt to do any
thing which he deems injurious to
those classes. This is a duty, due
not only to them, but to the nation
at large, and to the King on the
throne; for, at last, the strength
of the nation, its capacity to
maintain its honour and even its
independence, must depend upon
the state of the common people.
If they be well off, the nation is
safe: if they be in misery, the
nation never can be safe for one
moment.

From a conviction of these
truths I was induced (stimulated
partly, also, by my dislike of the
man), to oppose and expose your
project for altering, or, rather, for
abolishing, the laws relative to
the poor, enacted in the reign of
Queen Elizabeth. I am not taking

C

to myself the whole of the merit, due to the baffling of that project; for I must say, that you were manfully met, at the outset, or nearly at the outset, by Lord MANSFELD, by Mr. T. P. or P. T. or something of that sort, COURTENAY, by Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, and by my particular friend Mr. JOHN CALVERT, representative of the Borough of Wareham, and, as he says, my brother freeholder, in the County of Kent. Mr. CANNING has lately told us, in the House, that Mr. T. P. or P. T. COURTENAY has a wife and ten children; or, I believe, the Right Hon. Personage said, that he had nine children, and that the Lady was about to be as well as could be expected with the tenth. Now, though I by no means wish to insinuate that Mr. P. T. or T. P. COURTENAY was not, upon this occasion, actuated by public motives; still, I am, in the affected verbiage of the day, "free to confess," that these circumstances, stated with so much propriety and dignity by

the intended Governor General, does subtract a little from the weight of Mr. COURTENAY's opposition, while, however, I am equally "free to confess" that it subtracts nothing from its justice; for the first principle is to do as one would be done by; and it would have been monstrous, indeed, therefore, for a man who was making such additions to the population of the country, and enjoying such abundant portions of the blessings of matrimony, not to oppose with all his might, small, indeed, though that might be, a project for checking the practice of marriage amongst the labouring classes.

Stout and efficient, however, as was the opposition which your project received; great as was the laughter that it excited before it was finally dropped, there was yet wanting something experimental and striking, as elucidatory of that project. The example of America, where Queen Elizabeth's Act has always been in full force, was not sufficient; because Ame-

man is in a peculiar situation; and does not, in other respects, at all resemble England. We had long had dinner in our turn the blessings which a grant of the Poor-Laws showed upon Scotland; and, in answer to this, there was, fresh in our recollection, the application to the Minister for a grant of money to relieve the starving Scotch Manufacturers in 1816, and Lord Liverpool's excellent answer; "Ask for Poor-Laws, if you please; but if you ask not for them, ask not for relief to be sent you from the landlords, farmers, tradesmen and even labourers, of England." There was, besides, to set up the mouths of howling Scotch Lawyers and Biscuit-makers, the notorious fact, that enormous sums of public money had been for the last five-and-twenty years, sent to Scotland yearly, to be laid out in public works, for the avowed purpose; for the distinctly, literally-declared purpose of enabling the poor people in Scotland to live in their own country.

These things were pretty striking, and, as arguments of consequence, were brought to bear upon your project with great force and effect; but still, in order to overset projects so deeply laid on stones of Malpas, and espoused by so many persons of great weight in the country, there wanted an illustration, such as that which we now have before our eyes. In support of your project, you cited the authority of Doctor Faustus, as unending and pretty nearly as unprincipled a man as ever existed. He was a pretty bitter man; if you recollect. He contrived to get transported throughout the world as a second Solomon; but I defy any man to bring me from his writings one single proof of his having entertained enlarged or liberal views on any subject. He was a huxtering philosopher; always dealt in small wares; always made the most of them; had no scruple to steal from any body; had all the prudence of a Scotsman; but none of the

Scotchman's honesty, and not a particle of that feeling for the sufferings of others, which have distinguished so many of the natives of the north of the Tweed. This man was a real rebel. He had been an officer under the royal Government. The loss of his post made him turn a patriot; he appears never to have been actuated by any portion of those generous principles, by which the mass of the American people were urged on to action; and as to his writings; as to his philosophy and his morality, it is the very code of low cunning and selfishness. There only wanted the calling of *lawyer* to make him complete; and how the Devil came to leave him out of the sable phalanx is truly surprising.

This was a right worthy authority for you to quote against the Act of Queen Elizabeth, a man that regarded the body of the labourer merely as so many pounds of flesh wrapped round with a skin. This was a pretty authority to quote, in support of a proposition

for oversetting one of the greatest of the fundamental laws of the country. The Doctor, however, had himself, furnished an answer to himself; for, he had said, that upon "going through Ireland it seemed to him as if the several classes of the Irish were dressed in the cast-off clothes of the corresponding classes in England." This was a pretty good answer to the authority of the Doctor; and there was another full as good in his never having even attempted to do away with the Poor Laws in America. He never was that great man there that some people imagine him to have been; but still he had, on account of the services which he had rendered in France, as well as on account of his cunning and great reserve, a considerable portion of influence; but he valued that influence a great deal too much ever to make the slightest attempt to make an alteration in the Poor Laws. He had several fair opportunities for doing this, especially in Penn-

sylvania; for, there were. Con-
stitutions to be made, there were
many English laws to be set
aside; many were set aside; but
we hear of no man that ever
proposed to set aside these laws.

Your project stood condemned
by all this mass of experience;
by the prosperity and greatness
of England, its internal peace and
happiness after the passing of
these laws, which had on them
the stamp of certainly the wisest
sovereign that ever sat on the
English throne, aided by the
wisest counsellors (those of the
present sovereign always ex-
cepted!) that ever surrounded
sovereign in this country: by
all this mass of experience
worth ten thousand arguments
and ten thousand million of
authorities like that of Doctor
FRANKLIN: by all this your pro-
ject stood condemned; but there
still wanted a thing so astounding
and terrific as that which un-
happy Ireland now exhibits to
the world; a thing wholly with-
out a parallel in the history of

mankind; famine, raging to that
extent, that whole parishes are
prepared for death by their re-
spective priests, by absolution
and by the administering of the
extreme unction; while the coun-
try abounds in provisions, and
while provisions in great quan-
tities are daily exported from that
country to this. This is what
was never before heard of in the
world; and this is what could
not have been if the Poor Laws
of England had extended to Ire-
land.

As I am now about to show the
causes of this horrible famine in
Ireland, and of the still more hor-
rible circumstance of its not being
relieved by an application to the
use of the sufferers of the provi-
sions sent from that country to
this, I ought, perhaps, to apolo-
gize to you, upon the same ground
that an apology is deemed neces-
sary for talking Latin in the pre-
sence of a lady; for where is that
lady; nay, where is that chamber-
maid, who does not understand
Latin better than you understand

subjects of this sort? But, come, now, Lawyer Scarlett, listen to me a little while; forget, for a few minutes, the bawling and ranting and bow-wow stuff of the bar. Attend to me, and I will show you how it is that the Irish people are in want of food in the midst of abundance.

When you, acting as public accuser in the North, were pleading against the poor silly rumpit *Evans*, who got banged into gaol for a year for only talking disrespectfully of the army; when you were upon this northern expedition, you took occasion to make a display of your *Statesman*-like knowledge, for which, I suppose, you are selected as a representative for the free and independent Borough of Peterborough; you took occasion to make a display of this knowledge by observing that the *temporary* distresses of the country arose from a transition from war to peace, and from the want of there not having been yet a sufficiency of time for the capital, diverted from its usual

channels during the war, to find its way back again into those channels! "Bless his head, wig and all!" said I, when I read this in the newspaper. Here were my Lord Castlereagh's sayings of just five years old; and long after he had, I am very sure, if the truth could be known, become heartily ashamed of them. These notions are now laughed at by all the world; and they were laughed at before they found their way out of your mouth; but they show your profound ignorance of the matter, and serve as ample apology for any familiarity of illustration that I may make use of in the endeavour which I am about to make to put something like a knowledge of the subject into your head.

The cause of the famine in Ireland is *taxation*. It is not rotten potatoes; it is not rents; it is not tithes: these only operate in consequence of taxation, which is the cause of the whole of the evil. There are about ten or fifteen millions a-year raised in taxes in

Ireland. These taxes are paid directly or indirectly from the hands of all classes. In addition to what are generally called taxes, we must take the fees, the Grand Jury charges, and other things, separate from rents and tithes. Now observe these sums of money being taken away from the landlord, the tithe-owner, the farmer and the tradesman, these have not money left to give to those who labour, and who have nothing but their labour to support them. If we take the man with his potatoe-ground and his hovel; see him in his rags and destitute of every species of furniture, we shall wonder, at first, how taxation can reach him. We will suppose, even, that he is the labourer of no man; but he has his *rent to pay*; and, if to pay that rent he has to sell his pig, his cow, and a considerable part of his potatoes besides, starvation is his lot. But how does taxation cause this? How is this man to be brought to starvation by taxation? Why,

in the first place, he has indirect taxes to pay. In the next place, the Landlord and Parson can lower their demand but in a very small degree; for, if they do, they must either change their mode of living or be seized on for taxes. Then, the price of his produce bears no proportion to his payment for rent or tithes. That produce now yields him a *third* of what it yielded him when the present rent and present taxes were imposed. Instead, therefore, of selling the pig and a small part of the potatoes, he has now had to sell cow as well as pig and a large part of the potatoes, in order to obtain the means of paying the same rent, tithe and taxes that he paid before; and it is the taxes which compel the Landlord and Parson to endeavour to get the same rent and tithe.

The thing works precisely in the same way in England, only it has different materials to work upon. Here the land is tenanted in comparatively great parcels.

Instead of one pig and one cow, the tenant has here herds, flocks and droves. He has, besides, a considerable quantity of money. To pull him down, therefore, is not so easy a matter, while those Poor Laws which you so much detest, serve, as we shall by-and-by see, to arrest in the hands of the Overseer, what would otherwise be taken away by the Landlord and Parson. The English farmers are undergoing precisely the same process as that which has finally produced famine in Ireland. I know of one single Auctioneer in that famous Aristocratical County of Suffolk, who has 136 *farms* for sale on or before next Michaelmas, on the far greater part of which the tenants have been or will be sold up! This is the effect, Lawyer Scarlett, of transitions from war to peace, "and of capital finding its way into its usual channels!" Oh! God! thou art just! Where such men have authority; where such men are selected for Boroughs, a nation must suffer, and it ought

to suffer, as a warning to the rest of mankind.

The English farmer, worked down in precisely the same way and from the same cause as the Irish potatoe planter, is what we call ruined; that is to say, he first spends his money and then his stock is seized. The Landlord will have some rent as long as the farmer has the means of paying any; because if he have not, he is ruined. The taxgatherer comes on, as PAINE described the Quakers in their pursuit of wealth, "steady as time and remorseless as death." This hand spares nobody. Its grasp must be satisfied. The Landlord, therefore, and the Parson too, keep pressing on; and finally down comes the farmer. This has already taken place to a certain extent; but that which we have seen is a mere nothing to that which we shall see. The full blaze of those blessings which Judge BAILEY saw in a National Debt has yet to burst forth upon us.

But, we shall see no *famine* in

England. We shall see tenants fall and Landlords fall; but we shall see no famine. The difference between England and Ireland is this. There the Landlord comes, or Parson and Landlord come together, and they sweep away all. Here they would sweep away all; but here is the Overseer, who comes *before* them; who comes monthly or weekly throughout the year, or as often as he pleases, and takes away from the land a certain portion of food sufficient to prevent the poor from starving. In Ireland, where there is no Overseer; where there is nobody to arrest, in its progress to the Landlord and Parson, this portion of human sustenance, the poor creatures starve. And this is the true history of the famine in Ireland, where we now behold the best possible proof of the wisdom as well as of the justice of the Poor Laws. If the Poor Laws were abolished in England, the farmer would pay to the Landlord and the Parson that which he now pays to the poor, and famine in

the midst of abundance must be the consequence here as well as in Ireland, unless prevented by a rising of the poor and a forcible seizure of the food.

What would have been the consequence, if your Bill had been passed, is much easier to imagine than it is to describe; but here we have a practical illustration of its injustice, and especially of its excessive folly. What can be more unjust than any regulation, any law, which shall leave a part of the people exposed to starvation? Can law be said to exist in such a state of things? Will you, or will any Lawyer, have the front to tell me that man can be doomed to starvation according to law? Will you have the front to tell me that civil society is in existence with a large portion of the people dying with hunger in the midst of plenty? Or, is this what they mean when they talk of social order; and when George Rose talked of the "*blessed comforts of our holy religion*;" did he mean the rites performed by Parish

Priests over their starving flocks, starve. But, I have some excellent allies, that have recently joined me. There is no evil, they say, without some good arising out of it; and even the famine in Ireland seems to have produced a good; for it has brought Mr. WILBERFORCE and Mr. BROUGHAM to be strenuous advocates; not for charity towards those who are in distress, but for giving them relief as *their right*. A principle may be good, and the application of it bad, as we shall presently see; for the people in Ireland have by no means the same sort of right to relief from the English and Scotch as the people of England have to relief from the lands on and about which they live, and on and about which their labour is bestowed.

Malthus's project has been on foot about five-and-twenty years. It has been a great favourite with Landlords and Parsons. It has been working its way, and trying to get into practice by degrees. It produced the Select Vestry Bill. The Hampshire Parsons were its great patrons; but it was your Bill that was to bring it into efficient operation. Malthus contends that the poor *have no right to relief*. I have proved, over and over again, that their right is much clearer than that of any man to his estate, being founded, as Blackstone says, in the "*first principles of civil society*." And certainly, if there be a principle, that stands before all others, it is this, that, as long as there be food in the community, no man shall

But now let us hear Mr. WILBERFORCE and Mr. BROUGHAM, and particularly the latter, with whom I have a crow to pluck, relative to this matter. On the 27th of June, during the conversation, in the collective, about the famine in Ireland, Mr. WILBERFORCE said, that the grants for relief

ought not to be looked upon as proceeding "from generosity but "from justice; as in a ship with "short allowance, it would not be "thought generosity for those who "had a *superfluity* to share it "with the *famished crew*." This was a bad simile, Mr. Wilberforce: a bad illustration of the case; for, if there be a *superfluity* in the ship and belonging to the ship, there can be no "*short allowance*." If you mean, that *passengers* may have a *superfluity*, though the ship's stores may run short, that is another matter; but, in that case, what *right* have the captain and his crew to come to the passengers, who have paid their money for being conveyed; and who have a *right* to a well-fed crew to convey them? The fault is in the *Commander*, whose duty it was to be amply provided. If, indeed, Mr. Wilberforce regards those parts and persons, in *Ireland*, who have a *superfluity*; if he regards these as *passengers*, and as passengers who paid nothing for the services of the crew;

then, indeed, there may be some meaning in his simile; for, we well know, that they have a *superabundance*; because, all the time of this famine, they are sending thousands of quarters of corn every week to England?

Mr. BROUGHAM improved upon Mr. WILBERFORCE, and said; that the grant ought not to be understood as a *favour*, but as *matter of right*, and that he would have it so proclaimed to the nation. Now, then, what was this claim? It was a claim of the Irish, they being in want, to be fed by the English, out of taxes raised upon all classes of the people; upon the labourer's mind, as well as upon the lord; and to relief from this source, the Irish, being in want, had a right. Mr. BROUGHAM recollects, perhaps, that, during the season of Six-Acts, that same season, during which you called me a "*contemptible scribbler*," though I had never mentioned you in the whole course of my life; Mr. BROUGHAM recollects, perhaps, that, during

that season, he took occasion to pronounce a high eulogium upon the project of Malthus, and on the *humanity* of those who espoused his, what I deemed, diabolical project. He talked of the distress arising "*from the great increase of population beyond that of subsistence,*" and he added, "one of the *worst effects of the worst part of the press* was its constant exertions to shake the opinions of men upon this cardinal point. Great pains were taken to *destroy the characters* of those *amiable* and *intelligent* persons, who, with the *kindest* feelings towards their fellow-men, had delivered sound and sensible opinions upon this subject." He afterwards went on to say that such writings tended to render a man unpopular who should espouse these kind schemes. He afterwards said that he feared nothing was to be done, till the distress had subsided.

Now, Lawyer Scarlett, these kind observations were made a

few months after the publication of my letter to Malthus, of which I shall always be proud, and more proud than of any thing else I ever did or can do; for in that letter I proved, as clear as daylight, the right of the labourer to marry, to have children, to be relieved out of the land, in case of want, arising from sickness or other calamity or from want of employment. Parson Malthus had a great number of adherents; but no one to answer that letter, except by this fling in the House of Commons. I do not think Mr. BROUGHAM has much to do; let him answer the letter now; he will find it in Vol. 34 of the Register, No. 83, published on the 8th May 1819. Let him answer that letter; and there will need no more hinting and flinging about the matter. He appears to have laid by his "*Education Digest*;" and as there is *legal distress* I am happy to know, he may have some leisure; some hour or two, at any rate, to spare. I'll engage he has ten times more leisure

time in a week than it took me to write that letter. It has been three years without an answer, though the Edinburgh Reviewers have been alive all the time, and are not yet quite dead, though sinking fast to the grave. If those writings (and mine were the only writings upon the subject), have done such mischief, why not put them down by answer, by exposure, by refutation? Yet, never has there been one attempt of this kind.

I shall by-and-by have to examine this doctrine of the *increase of population beyond subsistence*; but, first of all, here is Mr. BROUGHAM condemning me; calling mine the worst part of the press, on account of my constant exertions to shake the opinions of men with regard to the doctrines of Malthus, and charging me with taking great pains to destroy the characters of those amiable and kind-hearted persons who had espoused those doctrines. Let us, then, now see what were the doctrines espoused by those

amiable and kind-hearted creatures. I will not content myself with representation. I will take the words of the great Malthus himself. Not his speculations; not his theories; but his practical measure; his proposition of the thing to be done; his proposal of a *law*; and when we see it, we shall see how it squares with this doctrine of *right of relief*, which this same Mr. BROUGHAM has now conjured up for the benefit of the Irish.

Before I cite this proposition let me observe, that, at the time when Malthus wrote his book, the Boroughmongers began to be alarmed at the increase of the poor rates. They boasted of wonderful *national prosperity*; wonderful ease and happiness; wonderful improvements in agriculture and manufactures; wonderful increase of imports and exports; wonderful increase of education and *comforts* amongst the "lower orders;" but still, with all this increase of comfort, the poor rates *wonderfully in-*

increased! Indeed they seem to
 increase with the increase of na-
 tional prosperity; which was a
 very wonderful thing indeed, and
 seemed to puzzle the Borough-
 mongers exceedingly. In this
 extremity, they found in a parson
 the inventor of a method to rid
 them of their ground of alarm.
 He, overlooking all the real causes
 of the increase of the paupers,
 assumed, without any internal
 proof, and against all experience,
 that the giving of relief was the
 cause of the evil; and then he
 came to his proposition of a re-
 medy, in the following diabolical
 words: "To this end I should
 "propose a regulation to be made,
 "declaring, that no child born
 "from any marriage taking place
 "from the expiration of a year
 "from the date of the law; and
 "no illegitimate child born two
 "years from the same date, should
 "ever be entitled to parish as-
 "sistance. After the public notice,
 "which I have proposed, had
 "been given, to the punishment
 "of nature HE should be left;
 "the punishment of severe want;
 "all parish assistance should be
 "rigidly denied HIM. HE should
 "be taught that the laws of nature
 "had doomed him and his family
 "TO STARVE; that HE had
 "no claim on society for the

"smallest portion of food; that
 "if HE and his family were
 "saved from suffering the utmost
 "extremities of hunger, he would
 "owe it to the pity of some kind
 "benefactor, to whom HE ought
 "to be bound by the strongest
 "ties of gratitude."

This was the proposition of the
 "kind" Mr. Parson Marston. It
 was the "worst part of the press"
 that made constant exertions to
 shake the opinions of men upon
 this cardinal point. It was wicked
 to take pains to destroy the cha-
 racters of the amiable and kind-
 hearted creatures that supported
 this damnable proposition; this
 proposition so insulting to human
 nature; and, at the bare reading
 of which, an Englishman must
 be a monster, not to feel his
 breast heave with indignation.

I never met with Parson any
 more than Lawyer that could
 write common sense, so that I am
 little surprised at this HE, which,
 according to the words, means the
 child (though it may be a girl;) but which HE does, I suppose,
 mean the man, who shall dare to
 marry or have a bastard by some
 unmarried woman; and yet, in
 this latter case, what means the
 parson by talking of the man's
 family? Crude, impudent and

muddle-headed: Malthus all through!

However, here we have the creed of these amiable and intelligent persons who have the "kindest feelings towards their fellow-men." A law is to be passed taking all relief from children born after a certain period, and from the father of the children and the mother also; for it is the whole family. The labourers in distress are to be told, that they are to be left to the punishment of nature; the punishment of severe want. They are to be told, that the laws of nature have doomed them to be STARVED! They are to be told that they are to have **NO CLAIM ON SOCIETY**, for the smallest portion of food, and that if they are saved from dying from famine they must owe it to the *pity* of some *kind benefactor*, to whom they will be bound by the strongest ties of gratitude! This was the language which these impudent men held to the people of England; this was their audacious and inhuman tone to the journeymen and labourers of this country, to whose ingenuity and whose toil, and to deductions from whose wages through the means of the vile paper-money, they owed all the prosperity of which they boasted; this was their

language to this industrious and laborious class of persons; but, behold, now that the Irish are in a state of starvation; in that very state which Malthus would have told the journeymen and labourers of England that nature had doomed *them* to; now that the Irish are, in this state, so far are they from being told, that they have *no claim upon society* for the smallest portion of food; so far are they from being told this, that Mr. WILBERFORCE will not have the grants to them looked upon as proceeding from *generosity*; but will insist that they shall be looked upon as proceeding from *justice*! And Mr. BROUGHAM, out-Heroding Herod himself; or, rather out-humanizing the very quintessence of humanity; and out-delicating the most refined delicacy itself, will not have the grants of our money, part of which mind, comes out of the pockets of the English journeymen and labourers; he will not have these to be understood as a *favour* but as a matter of right; and he will have it so proclaimed to the nation!

There's for you, Lawyer Scarlett. Settle that matter, will you, with Parson Malthus and with brother Brougham. In the meanwhile, I will, if you please, take it for granted that the English

labourers have *as good a right* to be kept from dying with starvation out of taxes raised upon the land in England, on which land or about which land they themselves labour, as the Irish labourers have to relief from taxes raised upon the kingdom in general, and paid in part by those very English labourers; and I will take the liberty to expect that I shall never again hear varlet impudent enough to pretend that the English labourer, when he is unable to work or can get no work, has *no right* to relief, and that the laws of nature have doomed him to starve. Why does not the impudent Malthus now come and tell us that the laws of nature have doomed the Irish to starve; and that they have *no claim upon society for the smallest portion of food*? For, let it be observed, that no "*notice*" about marrying or not marrying was requisite in Ireland. They had no Poor Laws; therefore, they could expect no relief. They were in the state that the people of England would have been in two years after passing the law proposed by this Malthus. They are precisely in the state that Malthus's law would have placed the people of England in. Where is he, then, that he does not come and tell

them that the laws of nature have doomed them to starve? As a man of spirit and sincerity he is bound to do this; and as one of his adherents, and one of the assailants of those who had endeavoured to put down his doctrines, Mr. BROUGHAM is bound to do it for him if he will not do it himself. Nay, you, Lawyer Scarlett, who brought in your Bill, founded upon the plan of Malthus, might upon a pressing occasion, like the present, just say a word or two for the parson.

Oh! no! Famine in Ireland, excites all the sweet sympathies. The poor have *rights* now, especially if they live across St. George's Channel. They are not to be offended; the ears of the delicate *five score* that come over from Ireland every winter; their delicate ears are not to be offended; their lofty spirits are not to be wounded, by even leaving it to be supposed, by any chance or possibility, that it is a favour we are bestowing upon that country. Mr. WILBERFORCE scorns to have it called generosity; and Mr. BROUGHAM will have it, not told, but proclaimed to the nation, that the Irish receive these grants as a matter of right.

Here I should stop; but the doctrine of *surplus population* de-

mands a few remarks. And a pretty stock of impudence a man must have, to pretend that surplus population is the cause, or any part of the cause, of the present distress either in Ireland, or in England; when there are persons, I mean hirelings of the press, who have gone much above half way to the devil in swearing that the distress has arisen from a *surplus of food*; and when even the Ministers themselves, and all their adherents, have cried out, *over-production*, till the very echo is sickened with the sound. It is notorious, that, from the very country where this horrid famine is raging, immense quantities of human food are daily exported to this country, besides what is continually going away to the colonies. And, in the face of these facts, which are perfectly notorious, there are persons to pretend, that the distress arises from the "*great increase of population beyond that of subsistence*." Let it be observed too, that this is what is asserted by Mr. Brougham, on the 16th of December 1819; to which let me add, that the Agricultural Committee of 1821 have stated in their Report, that the harvest of that year was the second harvest, of the third of those harvests that had caused the

over-production! Yes, after the second of the three over-abundant harvests, Mr. Brougham said, "That the great cause of the distress which now (then) prevailed, was the great increase of population *beyond that of subsistence*; and one of the worst effects of the *worst part of the press* was, its constant exertions to shake the opinions of men upon this cardinal point;" cardinal indeed! it was a cardinal point, was it? As a piece of folly it did indeed stand almost at the head of all others.

Events, Lawyer Scarlett; those events, to the decision of which I always appealed against the decisions of popular error, as well as against those of irresistible power: events have given the lie direct to all the doctrines of Malthus and his followers; and have proved, that it is not an over stock of population, compared with the stock of subsistence; but that it is a diversion, by the means of taxation, of the food from the mouth of those who labour, to the mouths of those who do not labour: events have proved, that this and this only is the cause of the misery and famine in Ireland, and of all the distress that exists in England.

These are truths, that now be-

gin to make their impression in all parts of the kingdom; and then what a figure do the measures of the Government make? I do not want to impute to you or to any body else, to the Ministry or to the Parliament, any motive so base and wicked as that of a desire to produce such horrible calamities; nor, indeed, any bad motive at all; but, you have made part of this concern for a number of years past. Agreeably to that general judiciousness with which the Boroughs have been filled, you have been selected for one of our Lawgivers; and let me ask you, then, not where measures less wise could have been found; but where measures so directly contrary to these very principles with regard to population, could have been found in this whole world!

What is the main principle? Why, that the evils of the country arise from the increase of population beyond that of subsistence. And what is the remedy? To put a check upon marriage and the having of children. And how is this to work according to your opinion? Why, to make the people better off by diminishing the number of those, who do not work, and are fed from the labour of those

who do work. Now, then, observe, in the first place, that *we have a tax upon bachelors*, which is nothing more nor less than a premium for marriage. In the next place, we have annual grants of money, paid out of the taxes, *to be given to the poorer clergy of the church*. Another premium for marriage; another bonus given to increase the number of those who do not labour. In the next place, we have *five millions a-year* for military and naval half-pay and pensions! That those who have actually seen service abroad should be competently provided for the people of England do not grudge. In certain cases, and where the marriage has taken place *previous* to the granting of the pension or the half-pay, it would be just, if the nation could afford it, to make something of provision for the widow, and perhaps for the children to a certain age. But only look at what has been done. Every widow of an officer, *whether the marriage took place before the peace or since*, and every child of such widow (being the child of the half-pay officer or pensioner) *are to have pensions!* Nay, though the widow *marry again*, she is still to have her pension! Was there ever such a premium for the in-

crease of population! Was there ever such a prize for marriage, offered before in this world! Inducements on both sides. What officer will scruple to get himself a wife; and what girl will scruple to marry an officer, when she marries a fortune for life, of which the Government is the guarantee; when she marries a fortune for all her children to a certain age; and when it may frequently happen, that she and her children gain by the death of the husband; what man is too old or too ugly to get a wife under such circumstances; and what bounds are to be found to the increase of this class of population? Even if the husband be *insane* the widow is to stand upon the same footing as if he had been in his senses to the hour of his death. In short here is a large part of five millions of pounds sterling a-year, expended out of the taxes, as it were for the express purpose, not only of adding to the population of the country; but of adding to the number of those who can never be expected to labour, or to be initiated even in the rudiments of any useful employment. For, be you assured, Lawyer Scarlett, that none of the children proceeding from these marriages will ever be brought up to labour. They must, at the

age when their pensions cease, be in some way or other provided for, either directly or indirectly; either by salaries, by pensions, or, finally by poor rates; in some sort of way, in short, to add to the burdens of those who labour, and to draw from the estates of the owners of the land.

When you were talking of the idleness and profligacy of the present paupers, no one disputed that there were idleness and profligacy to be sometimes found amongst them; but what were those, in the way of creating public burdens, compared with the really inoffensive idleness of the race to which I have now endeavoured to point your attention?

Another most monstrous evil must necessarily arise out of this most injudicious mode of distributing the fruits of the people's labour together with the incomes of landlords and traders; and that is this: the filling of public offices and employments of an inferior description with these persons; I mean with the children of which I have been speaking. A *married* established clergy is, in a state of things like ours, a great evil. It is no small misery to a nation to have *twenty thousand* married pairs *breeding gentlemen and ladies!* Not a minister

ever filled that post in England for two hundred years past, who did not feel the weight of this evil. The children of these men must all be gentlemen and ladies. In their eyes it is dishonourable to work. Add their number to that of the children of the military and the naval people; and to these two add the precious produce of the Boroughs: then go into an American ship of war, or into an American Consul's Office; and you will see all the mystery explained: you will see the cause and you will see the effects.

To me it has always appeared a thing the most surprising in the world, that English Statesmen and Ministers should not have wished for such a change as would set them at liberty to choose their instruments freely, and according to their best judgment, from out of the great mass of talent and great qualities of all sorts that the nation presents to them. Do you think, that it was any thing *in the air* of America that produced the effects, which we, with such shame, had to witness during the last war? Oh, no! it was the perfect liberty which the President and his Secretaries were at to choose the instruments for the execution

of their designs from amongst the people at large. This, and this alone, made *all the difference*. The magnitude of that difference is to be read in the history of that war, and will, if no change take place here, be to be read, in the history of another war, in still more legible characters!

But, not to tire you, Lawyer Scarlett, I here put an end to my Letter, begging you to consider these things well, before you again propose a measure for altering the Poor Laws of England. Now, Lawyer Scarlett, I will tell you, in conclusion, how to make yourself a great man; or at least, a man of something; and that is, to propose the adoption of the *English Poor Laws in Ireland!*

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
FREEHOLDERS OF KENT.

Kensington, July 8, 1822.

GENTLEMEN,

ON the 4th inst. your Member, Sir E. KNATCHBULL, the late Collector of Taxes, presented a Petition from the "*undersigned freeholders of the County of Kent,*" expressing their dissent from the Petition agreed to at Maidstone on the 11th of June; which prayed the House, first to reform itself and then to make a just reduction of the National Debt. The underworkers de-

clared further their indignation at the prayer for a reduction of the Debt; and prayed the House to continue to uphold the system under which the nation had flourished; and they prayed the House most earnestly to sustain public credit and national faith.

The first question to ask is, where were these *underhand*, these *hole-and-corner* people, on the 11th of June? Why did they not then hold up their hands against our Petition? The next question is, why do they meet in *holes and corners*? Why do they not call a public County Meeting? And especially as Mr. JOHN CALCRAFT, late Clerk of the Ordnance, and Representative of the free and independent borough of Wareham, promised them to go to it, and, with one single speech of his (Oh! what "a speech" it would be!) make you bid me take my horse and get off home! Thus encouraged, having this *tremendous gun* to cover them, why did not the *hole-and-corner* people venture out? They could not doubt, surely, either the word or the powers of the famous Clerk of the Ordnance! What could ail them, then? Why not come forth? Especially since they must have known, that a *hole-and-corner* Petition was a great deal worse than nothing; for that all the nation must regard it as an *acknowledgment* that they dared not meet us; and of course, that our Petition spoke the *real sentiments* of the county, and that it would necessarily be concluded, that this *hole-and-corner* petition spoke the voice of *tax-eaters only*, which, if they dare publish the names, we shall find to be the literal fact.

No wonder that they pray for the upholding of the system. They say the nation has flourished under it; and, what liars, then, all the landlords and farmers would be; aye, and all *parsons* too, who preached charity sermons yesterday for the starving Irish! If the nation flourished under the system, what liars all

these would be! Either this *hole-and-corner* Petition contains a lie; or all the petitions about agricultural distress and all the sermons of yesterday were lies! It is the petition, however, that lies, and that really calls for public and universal indignation. What! The whole of the farmers of England either ruined, or on the point of ruin; the tradesmen in no better situation; the ship-owners ruined; and whole parishes in Ireland receiving the priest's benedictions preparatory to death from starvation; while there is a numerous, well-fed and well-clad standing army in time of profound peace, and while the Ministers themselves declare, that there is an over-stock of food: What! all this before their eyes; all this notorious; and yet to have the audacity to pray for the upholding of the system, and that, too, on the ground of its having caused the nation to flourish! However, the impudence, the shamelessness, the brazen profligacy of *tax-eaters* what can match!

If we could get at the names of these *hole-and-corner* men, we should soon see, that by the nation, they meant themselves: and we know well enough, that they flourish under the system. KNATCHBULL himself, for instance, while he was *tax-collector*, flourished under the system; and his brother, who is now *tax-collector* in his stead, flourishes under it.—Captain KNATCHBULL, whose case the public has heard of, (and will hear more of yet,) has also flourished under the system, and expects yet to flourish under it, I dare say, notwithstanding the little matters that we have read of, and if we keep our eyes upon the proceedings of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, we shall read more of. This is a very curious thing. I am keeping a sharp look out as to this matter. Look out you, in Kent, too. Let us see how Captain KNATCHBULL's affair goes off; for that is intimately connected with

the subject before us. There can be no doubt, that the Noble Captain signed this Petition for upholding the system. Oh! the brave Captain! Undersign it; to be sure he would.

Gentlemen, I will trouble you with no more about the matter; it is too plain a case to require elucidation, and the conduct of your undersigning foes too contemptible to call forth any thing but laughter. I shall, therefore, leave Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL, the Member, his brother, the Collector of Taxes, and his brother, the noble Captain, to whom, if you please, you may add the Clerk of the Ordnance, as personages for you to chat and laugh about as often as this hole-and-corner petition is matter of conversation; just remarking, however, that I verily believe, that the person the most deeply interested in this petition is the noble Captain; and, I think, a very little reflection will convince you that I am right in this respect. KNATCHBULL said, you will remember that he supposed he must call me a gentleman. There was no *must* in the case; and, if you duly consider what I have here said, and set your minds to inquire into the matter, you will very quickly ascertain, whether the word *gentleman* ought ever to be applied to any thing calling itself KNATCHBULL.

Having pen in hand, Gentlemen, I cannot refrain from a remark or two relating to the conduct of a former county meeting in Kent, which conduct the county might, indeed, with some reason be called on to blush at; that is to say, its conduct, when, even in departing from the tenor of the requisition, it passed an unanimous vote of thanks to Lord CAMDEN for resigning his sinecure! The first I heard of this was from the incidental observation made by Lord DARNLEY at the Meeting of the 11th of June. Since that, I have heard the same sort of praise from BROUGHAM, in

the House of Commons. This Lawyer called it an "*illustrious sacrifice* which reflected immortal honour on the disinterested patriotism of the party!" This shows us what this lawyer really is. He defended, or he seemed to defend, Mr. BENNET's just remarks on the Old Doctor; but, he rubbed it off again here! Oh! he loves the THING in his very heart and soul! And his Borough gentleman knows that he loves it too; or else he would not be where he is.—Now for this "*illustrious sacrifice*, which reflects immortal honour on the disinterested patriotism" of Lord CAMDEN. This man is one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, of which there are four. This man and the father of the Farmers' Wives' Friend, were the two elder ones.—There are two others, whose receipt out of the public money has been 2,700*l.* a-year each. These are four sinecures, and sinecure means, *nothing to do*.—Well Lord CAMDEN, according to the account laid before the House of Commons on the 29th of June, 1808, received 23,117*l.* a-year! Yes, twenty-three thousand one hundred and seventeen pounds a-year on account of this sinecure; besides all the pay that he, for years and years, received as a Minister in one post or another. We have not at hand the document to show the time when he came into the sinecure. He gave up about five years ago, after the Reformers, at their several meetings and in their numerous petitions, had made it such a subject of complaint. He had it more than 30, and, we believe, more than 40, years. Allow him 30. That was 693,510*l.* Six hundred and ninety-three thousand five hundred and ten pounds of the public money. Pretty well for the son of Mr. PRATT, who did not fail to receive his great salaries and fees as Judge and as Lord CHANCELLOR, while he was alive. Pretty well, as a trifling acknowledgment to the son for the services for which the father had

been amply paid while they were in the course of performance. And it was an "*illustrious sacrifice*" to stop when this enormous sum had been received! It is *four times* as much as the *President of the United States* received during the same thirty years. It was enough to support *eleven hundred labourers' families* at 20*l.* a-year each, or *four thousand four hundred persons*, allowing four to a family. And, we are to believe, that it reflects "*immortal honour*" on this man because he stopped at the trifling sum of 693,510*l.* of the public money, received from a sinecure! But, he did not stop. He has the sinecure still! Yes, has he; and he receives now 2,700*l.* a year from it. So that you thanked him rather too soon. If, indeed, he had stopped, and had besides, given up all that he had ever received on account of this sinecure; then you might have thanked him for the example he gave to others; but, even then he would have had the interest of this money all the while, when it would, if he had not had it, been productively employed for the benefit of the nation at large.

So that, I think, you had much greater reason to be "*ashamed*" of that vote, than of the vote which I had the honour to propose to you for the reduction of the interest of the debt, commonly called national, and with which debt Lord CAMDEN's sinecure was, as you will presently see, by no means unconnected.

Where did the money come from to pay Lord CAMDEN's sinecure? Out of the taxes, or out of the loans? No matter; for, if he had not received the 693,510*l.* there would have been so much less to be borrowed. Consequently the debt is now greater by this sum than it would have been, if he had not had this sum. Nothing can be plainer than this; and yet those who condemn you for calling for a reduction of the interest of this debt, are

(some of them) the very persons who advised you, and who really deluded you into this vote of thanks to Lord CAMDEN.

Gentlemen, I congratulate you on the effect, that your Petition of the 11th of June has had. You see, that even the men of the system are now talking of a reduction of the interest of the debt. One is for a fair way of doing it; another is for an inducing way; all are now for the thing; but, can any one invent any thing better than a just reduction? Three counties are now, the newspapers tell us, about to follow your example; and, be you well assured, that to follow that example is the only possible way of effecting any good by petition. The thing will be done at last, and the County of Kent will have the honour of having been the first to demand it. The nation must free itself from this millstone, or sink for ever; and it will not sink for ever. Great troubles may come; great humiliations; great insults from foreign nations tamely put up with; but, the nation will, at last, be great and free; and, I trust, that, in every difficulty, in every season of exertion, the nation will have, as it now has had, the example of the Men of Kent.

Sincerely entertaining this confidence in your good sense, true loyalty and public spirit,

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient

And most humble Servant,

WM. CORBETT.

PRIVILEGE OF PARLIAMENT.

I BEGIN with the Remarks, published in the *Statesman*, on Wednesday last, and to them I make, as the Reader will see, an addition.

Remarks of Wednesday last.—**PRIVILEGE!** Breach of Privilege set aside Mr. WESTERN'S interesting motion, and occupied almost the whole time of the evening.—Our readers, upon barely looking at the nature of the subject, will, doubtless, feel themselves impressed, we will not say with *awe*; but, certainly with a species of seriousness; with a solemnity of mind; and will assume a gravity of countenance suitable to the occasion. Supposing them to be thus prepared for the brief account which we shall make an humble attempt to give of this *important* matter, supposing their minds to be duly impressed with all those feelings of reverence and veneration which we find to fill our own mind in the present moment, we proceed to observe; that the public will please to bear in mind that, about ten days ago, Mr. ABERCROMBIE brought forward a motion relative to the Law Officers in Scotland in the case of one BORTHWICK, who had been a Printer or Editor for the Pittites, or INS; and who, finally got at papers written by the INS and showed them to the OUTS. This BORTHWICK'S treatment by the Law Officers received a description from Mr. ABERCROMBIE which displeased, it appears, two of those Law Officers, Mr. JOHN HOPE and Mr. WILLIAM MENZIES. These two gentlemen have resented this description of their conduct. Mr. HOPE has published a pamphlet, which we have not seen; but which was described, and quoted from in the House, in one part of which pamphlet he accuses Mr. ABERCROMBIE of perverting the privileges of Parliament in order to aid the private action of a political associate; and he says to Mr. ABERCROMBIE, "It is possible that the wilful misrepresentations of others may have induced you to think yourself safe in the grounds of that attack." We have not time to quote further; but, upon

reading the whole of the quotation, we have no hesitation to declare, that the writer of the pamphlet does not mean *personal safety*; and yet such is the interpretation which would appear to have been given to it; and in this light it seems to have been regarded by Mr. ABERCROMBIE. After a good deal of discussion upon the subject, Lord BINNING declared, in the name of Mr. HOPE, that every word of the letter or pamphlet was written by that gentleman. This was perfectly manly and honourable on the part of Mr. HOPE. The House then came to a decision that Mr. HOPE should be called to the Bar; and he is to attend this day so'night. The House first declared the pamphlet to be a breach of the privileges of the House.—So much for the history of the proceedings as far as regards Mr. HOPE.—Now comes Mr. MENZIES, who had written a letter to Mr. ABERCROMBIE, and had received an answer from that gentleman; and had then caused these letters to be published in the *Courier* newspaper, prefaced by an observation that the writer sent these letters for publication in consequence of the report of the speech of Mr. ABERCROMBIE having been published in the *Courier*. After inserting the Letters, Mr. MENZIES says, "I shall be content with saying, that in what you put forth as a fair report of Mr. ABERCROMBIE'S speech, improper motives were by very strong inuendo and implication attributed to me. Such imputations I regard with the most perfect scorn, and I have now shown, that whoever was the real author of them, they were altogether unwarranted, groundless and false."—Our readers will see the whole correspondence in another part of our paper.—The House voted that Mr. MENZIES, also, should be called to the Bar.—It voted that Mr. ABERCROMBIE should be ordered to attend in his place, with a view to prevent a per-

sonal rencontre, or, in plain English, a *duel*, between him and Mr. HOPE. A Messenger was dispatched with the order, who returned and reported that Mr. ABERCROMBIE was gone out of town, that he was not expected back for *ten days*, and that his servant believed he had taken the *Barnet road*.—This affair will, of course, be subject of future discussion, and we, of course shall, have to notice that discussion; but, in the mean while, we cannot refrain from observing on certain observations of the *Morning Chronicle* of this morning. That paper is become all at once, a surprising stickler for *parliamentary privilege*, while it talks about Tories, calls Mr. W. COURTENAY, who made the motions, a *Tory Member*; and endeavours to keep up the humbug, which cheated the nation for so many years, by using the appellations of Whig and Tory, between whom, as an Old Historian emphatically observes, the nation suffered, as our Redeemer suffered, *between two thieves*.—The *Chronicle* inserts certain words, which it imputes to Mr. BROUGHAM, as follows, “If an individual were to be singled out by a party, with whom, in the fair discharge of his duty, he came in contact, he did not see how gentlemen could be found, fearlessly to discharge their public duty, more especially, the most invidious parts of it.”—Upon this the *Chronicle* observes, “The bullying system must neither be tolerated towards that House, nor towards others;” and it afterwards observes, “we hope and trust to see put down a system, which strikes at the root of all decency and order.” Then there comes something in the canting, coaxing, Edinburgh Review-like style, thus: “Indeed the people of Scotland have sufficient candour to acquit the more respectable of the Tories, of this country (England) of all wish to

“countenance this system of violence.” Now, in the first place, we have read the whole of Mr. MENZIE’S publication; and we have read the extracts of that imputed to Mr. HOPE. The point of fact is unsettled; but if those gentlemen be correct as to the facts, we give it as our decided opinion, that they have been guilty of no breach of privilege, whatever; or, if they have, then no man’s character is safe, who is not in Parliament to defend himself, or who has not a friend there with spirit enough to defend him, or, at least, who does not find in the justice of some Member, a defence against the aspersions that may be cast upon him. Sir FRANCIS BURDETT is bound to attend, to vote and to do the utmost in his power to defend these gentlemen against this charge; for he has always contended, and, in our opinions, rightly contended, that nothing was a breach of the privileges of the House that did not necessarily tend to *interrupt its proceedings*. But, to stop far short of this, what is the situation of the people, if any individual of them may be assailed, in his private, as well as in his public character, by speeches made in Parliament, and then by publications made through all the newspapers in the kingdom; and liable to be punished by imprisonment, if he made use of the press to say that the imputations against him were false? What would have been Mr. COBBETT’S situation, for instance, if he had been to be punished, for saying, as he did, of the imputations of Mr. WOODHOUSE? There were, indeed, Gentlemen in the House, whose Honourable feeling led them to say something in defence of the attacked party; but when a man had imputed to him, the base motive, of desiring to excite *disaffection* when he knew that his only desire was to assist in saving the farmers from ruin, was he to re-

main silent; was he to suffer this imputation to be circulated throughout the kingdom; and if he defended himself by the comparatively small part of the press at his command, was he to be voted a criminal, and that, too, by his assailant as well as by others; and was he upon that vote, to be laid by the heels! The same observations apply to the gross personal attack made by Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL. If Members of Parliament were privileged to this extent, the House would form, the most odious body of tyranny, that ever was heard of upon the face of the earth; such a privilege would be a monster, indeed; a privilege to which the KING himself has not the smallest pretensions. It would consist, and must be regarded, as a body of licensed libellers, and as nothing else. Mr. HUSKISSON stated the case very fairly and very neatly, he drew the distinction, which is always to be taken into view, between a direct personal attack upon the Member, and an attack upon the *published report*. He said, that reflecting upon a report in a newspaper was not reflecting upon an individual; and he very fairly concluded, that a proceeding like the present, tended to *make the House answerable for the published reports*.—This was the true ground; for, and we should observe this well, that if the House deem it a breach of privilege to observe upon a report in a newspaper, it is itself the original offender in suffering such report to be published.—The House seems to have voted, that Mr. MENZIES' publication, "which takes notice of a speech of a member of this House, is a breach of its privileges," why then we are engaged in a breach of its privileges now; we, probably, have not the precise words of this motion; for is it a breach of privilege for us to have taken the above notice of the speech of Mr. HUSKISSON, who asked this question, "Was not an

individual at liberty to write to the Editor of a newspaper, stating that what he had put forth as the speech of a Member of Parliament, contained *matter injurious* or *untrue*?"—Nobody attempted to answer this question, though Mr. BROUGHAM was present, and the *Morning Chronicle* has not attempted to answer it now; and it cannot be answered, otherwise than by acknowledging that the individual has a right, unless we be willing to declare as legitimate, the most odious and insolent tyranny that ever existed.—Lord CASTLEREAGH seems to have been anxious about nothing but preventing the duel; and, indeed, the conduct of the Ministers and their people was fair and honourable all through; to which we must add, that almost every attempt of this sort to cramp the rights of the people, has originated with the other party. We have not time for further comment now; but we cannot omit to observe, that we can see no means of justification that Mr. HOPE and Mr. MENZIES had, other than those which they have made use of; and that we do not discover in their words, any thing that strikes at that root of all *decency and order*, to preserve which the *Morning Chronicle* is so anxious. We expect better proof of the truth of the matter, than what can be gathered from a stupid duel, which is a mode of decision fit to be adopted by savages, or by swaggering coxcombs infinitely more despicable than savages. We pretend not to determine whether Mr. HOPE and Mr. MENZIES were falsely or truly accused by Mr. ABERCROMBIE. If they were truly accused, he, in our opinion, ought to have taken no other notice of their publications than by re-statement of the truths, if he thought that necessary, and if the charges were false, and so appeared to him, upon remonstrance and inquiry, he ought, in our opinion, to have made the accused parties

reparation by an open avowal of the error into which he had been led; which he might have done without the danger of the slightest imputation of meanness, because both the Gentlemen ascribed his statement, and distinctly ascribed it, to his want of true information as to the facts. This, we think, would have been the dignified course; much more honourable to Mr. Abercrombie than any firing of pistols, and much better calculated than the present proceeding, to support the dignity of the House, and to prevent its privileges from becoming a subject of mockery.

Since writing the above, it has occurred to me, upon more mature consideration, that some further remarks are necessary, particularly with regard to what the Morning Chronicle reports to have been said by Mr. Brougham. First, however, let me observe, that, it appears to me, that the House came to a decision peculiarly fitting and just, in ordering Mr. Abercrombie to be in his place in the House; and this I think for two reasons: first, in order to prevent a duel between the parties, which could be attended with no possible good in such a case, and which must reflect disgrace somewhere; and second, because, as Lord Binning observed, the House ought not to come to a decision against *absent parties*; not the parties, however, who had committed the alleged

breach of privilege; but against Mr. Abercrombie, in fact. That gentleman, if he had been present, would, as was observed, have been the last person in the world, to call upon the House to pursue the course which the mover of the business had adopted. This was said by Mr. W. Courtenay, who made the motion for bringing Mr. Hope and Mr. Menzies before the House.

Now, it seems surprising, that it did not occur to Mr. Courtenay, that that which he thought could not have been done with the consent of Mr. Abercrombie had the latter been present, *ought not to have been done in his absence*. The same motive that would have restrained Mr. Abercrombie might, one would think, have restrained all other parties; for, in effect, the doing of the thing by others is precisely the same as if done by Mr. Abercrombie himself. It is well known that he could not, strictly speaking, restrain those others; nevertheless, it does appear to me that no such motion should have been made in the absence of Mr. Abercrombie.

But, it is the doctrine of Mr. Brougham, to which I wish more particularly to direct the attention of the reader. This Gentleman is reported to have said, that,

"Whatever step should be taken,
 "he hoped would be *unanimous-*
 "*ly* adopted; the House was
 "bound to do so, if it were only
 "to express its determination to
 "*put down a system* which had
 "been acted on in some cases,
 "and which *threatened to tear*
 "*up by the roots every vestige of*
 "*Parliamentary privilege* (hear,
 "hear!).—There was no shadow
 "of comparison between any at-
 "tack, however gross and inde-
 "cent, upon that House in its
 "corporate capacity, and an at-
 "tack upon an *individual Mem-*
 "*ber*, singled out by a party for
 "the performance of his public
 "duty, that party countenanced
 "and supported by another party,
 "whom he (the Member) felt it
 "his duty, as it were, to put upon
 "trial. Members of that House
 "would be found ready to do
 "their duty in spite of the *gene-*
 "*ral attacks* which were, and
 "which might be made, upon the
 "House in its *collective capacity*;
 "but if an individual were to be
 "*singled out* by a party, with
 "whom, in the fair discharge of
 "his duty, he came in contact,
 "he did not see how Gentlemen
 "could be found fearlessly to dis-
 "charge their public duty, more
 "especially the most invidious
 "part of it."

It is to this very extended, and
 general view of the subject, that
 I wish to obtain the particular at-
 tention of the public, I see no ob-
 jection to the House expressing
 its unanimous opinion; but I do
 see a good deal of objection to
 some other parts of this gentle-
 man's speech. What, for instance,
 can the learned gentleman mean
 by saying that the House was
 bound to *put down a system*,
 which threatened to tear up by
 the roots every vestige of *Parlia-*
mentary privilege? I have never
 heard of any such *system*. Have
 you, gentle reader? God forbid
 that I should encourage; that I
 should countenance; that I should
 approve of; that I should not re-
 probate, any attempt to tear up
 Parliamentary privilege by the
 roots! But, I do approve of mak-
 ing remarks, and free remarks
 too, upon the proceedings in Par-
 liament, *as we find them publish-*
ed in the reports; the reasons for
 which approbation, and for de-
 precating all attempts to shackle
 men in making such remarks, I
 shall another time endeavour to
 state, and I hope, with all humi-
 lity, that these reasons may not
 prove unsatisfactory even to Mr.
 Brougham, though I hope to be
 understood as speaking with all
 singleness of heart, when I say,

that I do not presume to set my judgment up as anything equal to that of the learned and honourable member for Winchelsea, in the county of Kent.

The learned gentleman next proceeded to observe, that there was no comparison between any attack, however gross and indecent, upon that House, in its corporate capacity, and an attack upon an *individual member*. He afterwards said, that members of that House would be found ready to do their duty in spite of the *general attacks* which were, and which might be made, upon the House in its *collective capacity*; but, that he did not see how they were to be found to discharge their duty, if they were to be *singled out* in this way. With all due submission to Mr. Brougham, I think there is a law in existence, which might banish a man for life for publishing any thing, having a TENDENCY to bring the House in its corporate or collective capacity, into CONTEMPT. So that, if I be not mistaken, as to the existence of such law, and if this doctrine of Mr. Brougham were to be adopted, no one could remark at all upon any proceeding in Parliament, unless he confined himself exclusively to themes of praise; I say positive praise;

nothing short of that; for to mention the speech of Mr. Brougham, for instance, and not to praise it, might be deemed an attack. We must remark, then, neither upon the House in its collective capacity (collective wisdom,) nor on the speeches of individual members: So that, here seems to be an end of all discussion whatsoever, out of doors, with regard to what is reported to have passed in the House. Mr. Brougham afterwards said, that he thought, that, "where a letter" (Ah!) "reflecting upon a member of that House, was published with the name and address of any individual attached to it" (Ah!); "he thought such a case" (Ah!) "afforded strong presumption in the exercise of their inquisitorial control" (Ah!) "and that they were entitled to call on such person" (Ah!) "to answer for his conduct" (Ah!); "or, at least, to explain it."—O! come; 'tis not so bad as I expected. I really was almost frightened out of my senses!

Coming a little to myself, I am able to look at the thing with a mere steady view; and in it I perceive *only* a complete prohibition of all remark whatever on the reports of speeches made in Par-

liament; and particularly on the "most invidious" speeches. If Mr. Brougham's doctrine do not go this length, I have not the capacity to understand it; and all that I shall, at this time, say upon the subject, is, that I *bless God, that there appears to be no prospect of the present Ministers being put out of their places!* For, I do most sincerely believe, that their reign is, in comparison with that which would succeed it under the "*Whigs*," what the reign of Solomon was to the reign of Rehoboam; so that I gather comfort, and great comfort, from this debate; and if Mr. Brougham will accept of my congratulations on the effect that it is likely to have on his party, they are very much at his service.

But now, turning to the *Morning Chronicle*; for though we must not deal censure ourselves; though we must do nothing but praise; nothing but sing hallelujahs, still, even Mr. Brougham's doctrine will not, I think, go so far as to prevent me from censuring the praise bestowed by others, and particularly that it will not prevent me from expressing (if I were able to express) my disgust at a passage, taken by the *Chronicle* from a *sneaking* villanous paper called

the "*Scotsman*;" in which passage the writer has the ineffable meanness to *flatter* Lord Liverpool and Mr. Vansittart; to extol, indirectly, their *moral* and *intellectual* qualities. In the whole course of my political observation, long and attentive as it has been, never did I witness any thing so completely base as this: flattery bestowed upon the Ministers in England; those very Ministers that this paper has, for years, been dragging in the dirt; and this flattery used, in order to wheedle and cajole those Ministers beforehand to desert the Lord Advocate and Mr. Hope!

As to the merits of the case itself, I frankly and unequivocally declare, that I see nothing worthy of blame in the conduct of Mr. Hope and Mr. Menzies. I have read the offensive articles again, and I can see nothing done by either, that was not necessary to a vindication of character. I am led to look back at the *origin* of the whole thing, and I find accusations of Mr. Abercrombie against Mr. Hope and Mr. Menzies, on account of alleged ill treatment of *Borthwick*. This Borthwick I find to have been the editor employed by the *INS* in the publication of a paper, containing violent attacks upon

the OUTS. I find him making speech! Good God! If a man to be such editor; and then I find him *divulging manuscripts to the* OUTS. This is the man with regard to whose treatment I find Mr. Abercrombie making a speech, containing *strong* imputations against Mr. Hope and Mr. Menzies. I find these Gentlemen, commenting through the means of the press, on those imputations; declaring them to be false; but at the same time, under the supposition, that he had made them in consequence of *misinformation*.

Now, so far am I from perceiving any thing wrong in this; any breach of the privileges of Parliament, that I look upon the conduct of these Gentlemen as exhibiting proofs of singular forbearance. In the case of Mr. Menzies, there was a letter from Mr. Abercrombie, in answer to the application of the former for an explanation; and Mr. Abercrombie refuses to enter into any explanation; yet, even after this, Mr. Menzies does not accuse Mr. Abercrombie of falsehood; and contents himself with saying, which was the very least that his character demanded, that *false imputations* had been published respecting him, in a report put forth by the Courier, as being a fair report of Mr. Abercrombie's

cannot say this much, in such a case, wretched indeed are we, and degraded far below the people of any civilized country in the world. If this be crime, it is a crime in a man to defend his own character when imputations are cast on it in the House of Commons. Neither of the gentlemen impute *bad motive* to Mr. Abercrombie. The utmost extent that they go is to assert that he had proceeded upon *false information*. The Morning Chronicle has, with peculiar malignity, put in *italics* the words "induced you to think yourself safe," from the quotation in the letter of Mr. Hope. The context clearly proves, that Mr. Hope meant, that Mr. Abercrombie thought himself on *safe grounds*, on *sure grounds*; that is to say, thought he was safe as to the truth of what he was stating. It was singularly malignant to put those words in italics, in order to direct the eye to them, and to give rise to the idea in the mind of the public that an imputation of cowardice was conveyed. In short, any thing more unjust and foul, I have very seldom witnessed even in the *Old Times*.

It seems rather unfortunate; that this violent strife should have arisen out of an effort to obtain,

what was alleged to be justice, in consequence of the harsh treatment of a man who had made an exposure of *private papers*. This is the *third* private-paper affair which has come forth, and always under the auspices of "*the Whigs*," during the present Session of Parliament. I thought that it would have been much better to say nothing about the Letter of Mr. *Arbuthnot*: The Letter of Mr. *Saxton* was a still worse affair; and though we must allow for difference of tastes, I hope it is no breach of privilege for me to say, that I would not have selected the case of *Borthwick*, the fatal consequences of whose disclosure being fresh in my mind.

The days will not be many before Mr. Hope and Mr. Menzies will appear before the House; and we shall be very much deceived, if the result be not their honourable acquittal; or, at least, if it should be thought to be going too far to say positively that they were justified in their publications, I shall be very much deceived, if the decision be not as nearly to that as possible; which I am very sure will meet with the decided approbation of the public.

MR. WOOLER.

A DINNER is, I understand, to be given to this gentleman, at *Birmingham* (26th July), on expiration of his imprisonment at *Warwick*, at which dinner I promise myself the pleasure of being present. His great talents, his zeal, his public-spirited conduct, his

steady perseverance, his tranquil fortitude under irresistible evils, are so many claims to our respect, and so many calls on us for all the support that we are able to give him. Wm. COBBETT.

FOR SALE

At the Office of the Political Register, a *Complete Set of the Encyclopedia Britannica*, twenty volumes in *quarto*, with about 6 or 700 plates; the work *never used*; bound in the best and neatest manner, calf leather, hollow backs, silk-bands. The binding alone cost *twenty pounds*, and the work altogether *nearly fifty*. The price is *twenty pounds*; that is to say, just the *price of the binding*.

IN THE PRESS,

A LETTER from *Joseph Johnson* to *Henry Hunt*.—The Public are informed, that a delay in the publication of this Pamphlet has been occasioned by a representation made to me, as follows: That Mr. Saxton, reputed agent of Mr. Hunt, has caused it to be intimated to my printer, that Mr. Hunt would *prosecute him*, if he printed my Letter; and that, therefore, the printer was *afraid to proceed*. No comment on this is necessary, for the present, at least. I have only to assure the public, that this contrivance will put off, only for a few days, the publication the dread of which has occasioned this short delay.

JOSEPH JOHNSON,
Shude Hill, Manchester.

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TO

MR. BROUGHAM.

*On his Doctrine, relative to the
Privilege of Parliament with
regard to publications respect-
ing the Reports of the Speeches
made in the two Houses.*

Kensington, 16th July 1832.

SIR,

You observed, in your speech in the House of Commons, on the 10th of this month, that it was necessary to *put down a system*, which threatened to tear up by the roots every vestige of Parliamentary Privilege. I have read that speech with great attention, and have no hesitation in declaring, that, if your principles, as conveyed in that speech, were acted on, every vestige of liberty

of the press, or of safety for character, would be completely at the mercy of any man who might, by no matter what means, obtain a seat in the House in which that speech was delivered.

Your doctrine is this ; or, I believe it will be best first to take your words, as reported in the Morning Chronicle. " Whatever step should be taken he hoped would be unanimously adopted ; the House was bound to do so if it were only to express its determination to *put down a system* which had been acted on in some cases, and which *threatened to tear up by the roots every vestige of Parliamentary Privilege*. — (Hear, hear !) There was no shadow of comparison between an attack, however gross and indecent, upon that House in its corporate capa-

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"city, and an attack upon an in-
 "dividual member, singled out by
 "a party for the performance of
 "his public duty, that party coun-
 "tenanced and supported by ano-
 "ther party whom he, (the Mem-
 "ber) felt it his duty, as it were,
 "to put upon trial. Members of
 "that House would be found ready
 "to do their duty in spite of the
 "general attacks which were,
 "and which might be made, upon
 "the House in its collective capa-
 "city; but if an individual were
 "to be *singled out* by a party,
 "with whom, in the fair discharge
 "of his duty, he came in contact,
 "he did not see how gentlemen
 "could be found fearlessly to dis-
 "charge their public duty, more
 "especially the most *invidious*
 "part of it."—In another part of
 the debate you made other obser-
 vations: but to them I shall, per-
 haps, come by-and-by.

The Morning Chronicle has
 pretended, that, by attacks, allu-
 sion is here made to *challenges* to
 fight duels; or to attacks of a real
 bodily character; but these never

could have been in your contem-
 plation; or, at least, that alone
 could not have been in your con-
 templation; because, though you
 talk about singling out, you also
 talk about *gross and indecent at-*
acks, which epithets could not
 possibly apply to bodily attacks;
 but must necessarily refer to at-
 tacks by the pen.

Your doctrine is, then, that it is
 possible that there may be pro-
 priety, in attacking the House in
 its collective capacity; but that, it
 is impossible for Members to dis-
 charge their public duty, if they
 are to be singled out by any one
 with whom they may come in
 contact. By coming in contact,
 you clearly mean, speaking of the
 character or conduct of indivi-
 duals; for, you afterwards say,
 that this coming in contact is the
 most *invidious* part of their duty.
 The substance of the whole then
 is this, that it is contrary to the
 Privilege of Parliament, for me,
 for instance, to name you, for in-
 stance, at all, in print, and with
 disapprobation of you, let you say

what you will of me in your place in Parliament; for, to name you, to say that you said this or that, to prove that what you said was erroneous or false, is to attack you. Thus you are *singled out and attacked*; and this you contend is a breach of the Privilege of Parliament. It follows of course, that Knatchbull was to say in his place in Parliament *that my character as well as conduct were reprobated by all honest men*; and that I, if I made a publication, referring to this speech, and denying the truth of Knatchbull's statement respecting me, was to be deemed guilty of a breach of privilege, and was to be imprisoned in a gaol, or otherwise dealt with at the discretion of the House.

Expositions and arguments are wholly useless in a case like this. The blood that does not boil at it is base beyond expression; and, as the New Times observed the other day, the law may say what it will; but to this the people will never submit, until a complete despotism

be proclaimed and established by force. I shall, therefore, not waste my time in reprobating this doctrine of yours; but shall endeavour to show, the very great utility, as well as the justice, of acting upon principles, the contrary of those which you have laid down.

If, in consequence of a misstatement or wilful calumny; or, in consequence of any attack of any sort, upon me, I were to lay the blame upon the whole House, instead of laying it upon the person who had committed the offence against me; how injurious this would be to all the other members; as well as how unjust! What a confusion would there be of right and wrong; what absurdity in my manner of acting, and how comparatively impotent any attempt that I might make to defend myself! When Mr. Scarlett called me a contemptible scribbler; when you denominated mine the worst part of the press; when Sir James Mackintosh drew that memorable contrast between me and his friend Mr. Perry, saying,

that the severe laws which were proposed were fit enough in the former case but not in the latter; when Mr. Canning would drive at the whole herd rather than suffer the mischievous beast to escape him; when Mr. Wodehouse ascribed to me the desire to inflame the people and spread disaffection in Norfolk: when these things took place, what injustice should I have been guilty of, if, in my comments, I had driven at the whole House, and not singled out my man? The thing is so absurd as well as so unjust that it will bear nothing in the shape of an argument. When my able friend Mr. John Calcraft, late Clerk of the Ordnance, said, that, if he had been at the Kentish Meeting, he would have made a speech, to make me mount my horse, and ride off home as quickly as possible, was I to impute this to the whole House, and tell the whole House (as I told him), that, if they would call another Meeting, I would be bound to make them mount their horses, and ride off

home, and that the only question would be, whether they should ride with their faces to the heads or the tails of the horses? Was I to laugh thus at the whole House, instead of laughing at my friend Mr. Calcraft? What an absurdity! Why, the whole House laughed as well as I; and what is more, you set them a laughing yourself, by calling my friend Mr. Calcraft the *Great Kentish Orator*. So that, here would have been pretty confusion; the House laughing at my friend, and I laughing at the House and my friend both together, and all from the same cause.

There may be cases, indeed, where the House, by making itself a party to the attack upon the individual out of doors, justifies an application of the censure to itself. This was the case when the *witticism* respecting the *rupture of Ogden* was sported; for the reporters told us that there was a loud and *general laugh!* but this has, I must confess, been seldom the case. I am well in-

formed, that, when Knatchbull was inveighing against my doctrine about the Debt, he was loudly cheered, particularly by those who sat near him; but that, when he came to those personalities, which, if uttered at all, ought to have been uttered at Maidstone to my face, the House *did not* cheer; and that even those who sat round about him, discovered evident signs of a feeling very different from that of satisfaction and approbation. Would it not have been, then, great injustice in me to fix his conduct upon the whole House; to impute to you, for instance, a share of the calumny that he was uttering? Yet, according to your doctrine, this is what I must have done, or sat in silence, while three hundred newspapers were conveying about the world the speech of a Member of Parliament, representing my character as well as conduct to be such as to be *reprobated by every honest man*.

There are other ways, too, besides that of direct attack, in which

individuals, out of doors, may be *wronged* by speeches made in Parliament. Suppose a man were to foresee that St. Paul's would tumble down, if certain digging and grubbing and poking about at its base were persevered in by a parcel of mole-like people; suppose he were to foretel this; supposing the mole-like architects to go on with their grubblings; suppose the building to begin to tumble about their ears; suppose this matter to be mentioned in Parliament: suppose one of the Members to say that he had foreseen the same thing, and another of them to say that it was impossible to be foreseen by any human being! Now suppose all this, would not the man, who had really foreseen the calamity, who had foretold it repeatedly, and years and years before it had taken place; who had been laughed at for his forebodings; and who well knew that the thing had been foretold by nobody else; would not such man have a right to complain of these two Members;

would he not have a right to make his representations upon the subject, even for his own sake; and would it not be his duty to do it? Without such remonstrance how would the public be to be guarded against the noble-like gentry and their abettors another time; and how is such man to remonstrate with any propriety without naming, without *singling out* (for, to single out is to name, and nothing more), how is such man to remonstrate with any effect, and in a manner to excite any interest, unless he address himself to the particular parties by whom the injustice has been done?

There are cases that do not come even so closely as this to an individual out of doors, and that yet justify him in making his commentary somewhat particular and personal. Suppose a Member to say, that nothing has been done, for any certain time past, worthy of approbation, in the Parliament, except certain things that he names. Suppose those certain things that he names have really

done nothing; suppose four millions of taxes have been taken off during the Session; suppose that two persons out of the House have manifestly had a large share in taking off these taxes; have not those two persons a right to remonstrate with that Member? Not very harshly, to be sure; but, when my Lord Milton was, the other day, ascribing all the good deeds to you and Mr. Wyville, whose motions had produced nothing; when he was omitting all the exertions that had produced the taking off of four millions of taxes, including a very large part of that worst of all taxes, the salt tax; when he was doing this, and saying not one single word about the great exertions of those two persons out of doors to whom I have just alluded; when he was doing all this, and taking no sort of notice of the *Farmer's Friend*, and the *Farmer's Wife's Friend*, who had split themselves up into more than fifty thousand pieces, and had been talking to the people in almost every parish of the king-

them at one and the same time; had not these two persons out of doors some little reason to be discontented with his Lordship, who had been silent all the Session himself, and who now broke silence for the purpose, as it were, of not doing justice to these two uncommonly active and public spirited persons? And how, pray, were the *Farmer's Friend* and the *Farmer's Wife's Friend* to state their case to the public, to put forward their fair pretensions, and to obtain justice for themselves, without naming Lord Milton; that is to say, according to the phrase that you have chosen to use, without *singling out* that Noble Lord?

You will here remark, perhaps, that merit is always modest; and that these two great enemies of taxes, ought to have left their merits to be discovered by the public. I am of a different opinion, and particularly in cases like the present. We are speaking of speeches in Parliament; and we know that they are circulated all over the world free of

expense to the parties who make them. Therefore, if the speeches be such as to bring forward Adam Smith, Hume, Locke, and God knows who, while they are silent as to him who has really developed all the causes of the calamities that oppress the country; it becomes an act of injustice in those who make those speeches; they make use of their means of circulating speeches for an unjust purpose; and it is the duty of the party who ought to be mentioned with honour, to expose and to lash, as far as he dares, the conduct of such speech-makers. Their speeches are a tacit attack upon him; and, having no other means of redress, he has a clear right to obtain it through the press if he can, and in his endeavours to obtain it, the *singling out* mode is certainly the best because it is the most manifestly just.

These observations are general; but now, before I come to the application of your doctrine to cases in which no particular individual is aggrieved, let me

make a remark or two (for we shall get on best with plain dealing) on the game which has been going on for now about sixteen years between me and the "*Education of the country*." It has been an object of considerable importance, not only with the men in power, but with those out of power, to depress, to degrade if possible, and finally, to render of no importance, an individual of the name of William Cobbett. This is perfectly notorious to the whole country, who have observed, that, however the fashions may differ in other respects, they all agree here. This has shown itself in so many ways, and so many hundred of proofs could be cited of it; it has, besides, become so flagrant, upon so many occasions, that there is not a man in the country that has a doubt upon the subject. The whole of the "*Education of the country*," or rather that which has the impudence to call itself such, has been, in this respect, one compact body, always moving on as

if it had been an individual. The source of this lies here: "*the Education*" saw that I possessed great industry and great perseverance. It would have taken me by the hand and lifted me up by degrees, if I, like so many others, had first *prostrated myself before it*. This I was resolved not to do. "*The Education*" perceiving that I was not to be gained by blandishments, and held in subjection to its will, and having a dread of my power to do it harm, very naturally took the course of destroying, crushing, or, at the very least, keeping down. I, on my part, by no means backward in perceiving the feeling and intention of "*the Education*;" and knowing well my want of means of the sort necessary in the way of *rising*, as naturally, set myself to work to *pull down* the "*Education*." And at this game, of *pressing down* and *pulling down*, "*the Education*" and I have been for the last sixteen years. Sometimes the chances have been on

my side ; sometimes on that of " *the Education*," which, being a sort of corporate body, has had the chances of sickness and death on its side. Nevertheless the game seems at last to have taken a very decided turn in my favour. And this I owe to a virtue for which very few people give me credit, but in which, as far as relates to such matters, I am exceeded by no man living ; and that is *patience* ; a cool waiting for events, which enables a man to lay the ground of his triumph long beforehand ; and upon this subject, and in the way of illustration, I will relate to you an anecdote, very well worthy of being remembered by " *the Education*," and strictly belonging to the matter before us, as well as to those great matters which now agitate the public mind.

The next day after Gibbs, Ellenborough, and their associates, had got me safe in Newgate, an American friend of mine, who had the clearest and soundest head of almost any man I ever knew in

my life, and for whom I had and still have a very great personal regard, came to see me in a very miserable hole, though better than that to which I had been sentenced, and from which I finally ransomed myself at the expence, for *lodging alone*, of *twelve hundred pounds*. Being seated, one of us on each side of a little bit of a table, he said, looking up into my face, with his arms folded upon the edge of the table, " Well ! they have got you, at last. And now *what will you do* ?" After a moment or two I answered, " What do you think I ought to do ?" He then gave me his opinion, and entered pretty much into a sort of plan of proceedings. I heard him out, and then, I spoke to him in much about these words : " No, *Dickins*, that will never do. This nation is drunk, it is mad as a March hare, and mad it will be till this beastly frolic (the war) is over. The only mode of proceeding to get satisfaction requires great

"patience. The nation must
 "suffer at last, and greatly and
 " dreadfully suffer, and in that
 "suffering it will come to its
 "reason, and to that justice of
 "sentiment which are now wholly
 "banished. I shall make no
 "immediate impression by trac-
 "ing the paper-system to its
 "deadly root. The common
 "people will stare at me, and
 "the rich ruffians will sneer;
 "but the time must come
 "when all will listen; and my
 "plan is to write that now
 "which I can hold up to the
 "teeth of my insolent enemies
 "and taunt them with in the
 "hour of their distress."—
 "Aye," said he, "but the
 "worms may be taunting you
 "before that time."—"No
 "matter," said I, "for though
 "fame, after the worms have been
 "at work, is a foolish thing, re-
 "collect that I have no other line
 "to pursue. By pursuing this, I
 "secure a chance of final success
 "and satisfaction, and by no other
 "can I perceive a possibility of

"obtaining even that chance." I
 then described to him the outline
 of what I intended to do with re-
 gard to the paper-system; and
 after passing a very pleasant after-
 noon, during which we selected
 and rejected several titles, we at
 last fixed upon that of "*Paper
 against Gold*," which I began to
 write and to publish in a few weeks
 afterwards, and which, at the end
 of thirteen years, I held up to the
 noses of the insolent foes who then
 exalted over me, and tell them,
 "This is what you got by my
 "having been sentenced to New-
 "gate; this was the produce of
 "that deed by which it was hoped
 "and believed that I was pressed
 "down never to be able to stir
 "again." I did not expect that
 the public would pay attention to
 what I wrote. I cared nothing
 about it. I no more looked for
 any effect from it within ten years
 than a farmer looks for the wheat
 harvest in March. But I was sure
 the time of harvest would come;
 I was quite sure of that; and I
 enjoyed by anticipation more plea-

sare, as far as I know; than I enjoy at this moment.

This was a new epoch in the progress of my mind. I now bent my whole force to one object, regarding every thing else as of no consequence at all. "The pursuits of agriculture and gardening filled up the moments of mere leisure and relaxation. Other topics than that of paper-money came now and then to make a variety; but, this was the main thing; I never had any hope in any thing else; and nothing else was an object of my care. Whether I were rich or poor I cared not a straw. I never cared in my life how I ate, drank or slept. I had Newgate in my recollection, and the paper-money for my polar star; and between these, in spite of a great deal of pressing down, I have performed more in the pulling down way, than, I believe, was ever performed by any other man. I might forgive my foes now, though I will not be hypocrite enough to say that I do; I might forgive them, for I was even with them

long enough ago; and, in a letter to Mr. Dickins, written about two months back, I asked him if he did not think that I had lived to receive my satisfaction.

This pressing down and pulling down game would be mere matter of amusement to me now; but really it becomes something of a different character when I reflect on its consequences. Understanding, as I do, and long having understood, as I have, all the causes which have finally produced this horrible state of things; and constantly active as I have been in displaying that knowledge before the nation, with such singular clearness and simplicity of style and manner, a considerable part of the people has always gone along with me, and I have thus anticipated the expression of thoughts and opinions, that might have occurred to and been entertained by others. Those opinions, always correct, received the reprobation of "*the Education*" only because they were mine. Resort was therefore had

to something else; and, of course, to something erroneous. It has been impossible to adopt a wise measure without taking something recommended by me. With this everlasting pen of mine in motion to take any thing from me by *stealth* was impossible; and to take it openly was prohibited by pride, by envy, by malice, by all those detestable feelings, that disgrace the heart of man, and that cause the ruin of nations. On my part there has always existed the determination that nothing should be taken from me by *stealth*; to this I still adhere, and, if the transgressor escape my lash he shall be more fortunate than mortal ever was before in this world.

On mere trifles the fate of countries frequently turns; and now let me frankly tell you, that the very first thing that seriously roused my indignation, after my return to England from America the first time, was, *seeing you and Horner put into Parliament*, while, I felt, without any reasoning about the matter, that you

were both together, as politicians, compared with me, what a reed is compared with an oak. I had not then even thought about Parliamentary Reform. It was a subject that had never entered my mind in a serious manner. But there must always be a something to awaken the first thought upon any subject; and, it is by no means unfrequently the case, that that first thought arises out of some feeling or passion which sinks away during the contemplation of the subject. Certain it is, that the seeing in Parliament such a man as *Horner*, especially, did produce a great effect upon me; and upon looking back to the Register of that date, I think I should be able to trace as regularly as possible, the degradation first, and afterwards the fall, of the Whig faction to that very act.

I have reason to congratulate myself upon what took place then. It is possible, and barely possible, that I might have prevented the present calamities, and the still greater calamities that are at

hand; but while that is only barely possible, and while it is also possible, that I might have been so committed with, as to share in the degradation of the Whig faction, it is quite certain, that nothing that parties could have done, or that kings could have done, would have placed me in the situation where I now stand.

A more interesting question is *how we shall carry on our game now!*

Whether "*the Education*" have any stomach left for *pressing down*, or whether it have had enough of it; whether it have had a *belly-full*, as they say of the boxers, and be inclined to cease from endeavours which have hitherto proved so fruitless. As I observed in one of my Letters to Lord Grey some time ago, malicious conduct seldom fails to meet with chastisement except it be perpetrated against the supple and cowardly. Of this I now remind "*the Education*," and inform you, in its behalf, that it shall never commit against me, any offence either express or *tacit*,

without receiving a just and full measure of punishment.

Leaving you to express your astonishment at all this "*disgusting egotism*," and leaving the whole band of Edinburgh Reviewers (if their book be yet alive) to participate with you, I now proceed to the remaining part of my subject; namely, the effect which your doctrine would have in those cases where the speech of a Member of Parliament contains nothing injurious with regard to any individual whatever. Your great objection is, to Members being "*singled out*." In the first place, they are forward enough, in general, to single themselves out. They not only write out their speeches for the newspapers, but very often publish them in pamphlets; and your prohibition would prevent an answer being given, even to these latter.

But, without going this length, what would have been the situation of the country at this moment if I, I myself I, had suffered the monstrous doctrines of Mr. Ri-

card to remain unrefuted? What point. He now contended, that would have been its situation, if the farmers and landlords would the ravings of Webb Hall; at one be able, without utter ruin, to pay the present taxes, though we had time so popular in the House, had passed without a comment? And come back to the prices which do you believe that four millions were in existence before the war. of taxes have been taken off in consequence of the answers which In 1815 he had contended, that Lord Liverpool, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Castlereagh, and they must have double the price that they had before the war, to Mr. Huskisson, received in the Houses; do you believe, that enable them to pay the present taxes; and he then contended, these taxes have been taken off that, without that double price, or so much in consequence of the something approaching it, the farmer answers which these gentlemen could not pay the present taxes, *though he paid no rent at received in Parliament, as in consequence of the answers which all.* What could be so powerful as this statement, as an answer to they received out of Parliament? Mr. Huskisson. It was perfectly irresistible. It made his opposition to the reduction of taxes not If you do, I can assure you that you hold an opinion very different from that of all the rest of the country except the "Education." worth a straw. It was one great point gained. Under such a statement he could not proceed Yet, how were these speeches to be answered if the makers of them were not to be *singled out*? with any face. He was compelled to yield, out of mere decency. And, will you still contend that a How was Mr. Ricardo to be answered so effectually as by showing that he held a different doctrine in different speeches. Member is not to be *singled out*, and brought to the bar of the press; and that to put forth a Mr. Huskisson's is a case exactly statement like that here alluded

to, is to "tear up by the roots every vestige of Parliamentary Privilege"?

The Parliamentary Debates are, in fact, publications of the speeches. If the House will not permit any body to publish its speeches, that is another matter; but the House now permits, in short, it authorizes, its speeches to be published from one end of the kingdom to the other; and shall it refuse to permit commentary upon those speeches? Does it wish to have all the talk to itself? Wish to have the liberty of promulgating just what it pleases, and at the same time wish to have the power of punishing all the rest of the nation for making a single remark on what it says? There is a law to punish us for attempting to bring the House into contempt; but never, according to my judgment, had any thing a tendency to bring it into contempt half so much as your doctrine.

In another part of the debate the Morning Chronicle reports

you to have said, that, "Whereas a Letter, REFLECTING upon a Member of that House was published with the name and address of any individual attached to it, he thought such a case afforded strong presumption in the exercise of their inquisitorial control; and that they were entitled to call on such persons to answer for his conduct, or, at least, to explain it."

Now, here is every description of the Letter that I am now addressing to you, except that this Letter may want, as I hope in God it does, the quality of "reflecting;" for that, it appears, is to constitute the sin. If, by reflecting, you mean, casting a suspicion on the soundness of your doctrine, and leaving the natural deduction to be drawn, then this letter does reflect on you. But what writing in answer to any man; what writing which questions his facts, disproves his facts, refutes his arguments; shows him, in short, to have put forth what is not true; shows him to have been

guilty of falsehood or of folly ; what such writing does not *reflect* upon a man ? It was clearly to reflect upon Mr. Ricardo, to demonstrate the falsehood of his doctrines—doctrines, too, which had earned him the title of Oracle even from you. Was it not to reflect upon Mr. Huskisson, to show the direct contradiction between his opinions of 1815 and those of 1822 ; and is it not to reflect upon Mr. Peel to talk, as we all do, about the supreme follies of all the babble of his Bill and all the mischiefs it has produced, unaccompanied as it was by those measures which would have rendered it just and safe, which were recommended *by me*, in a Petition (*too long* for Lord Folkstone to present to the House,) and which were, and perhaps because they were recommended by me, rejected ?

Your doctrine would cut both ways : take it altogether, it must soon put an end to all debate. None of us must write about any thing said by any of you, though

a Member were to utter things too indecent to be named. In the first place you insist upon liberty of speech ; next you permit the publication of the speeches, which is the same as ordering it, seeing that the thing is *sure to be done* ; and if no commentary be to be made upon these speeches, there is no safety for the character of any of us ; the sweeper of the streets may become even blacker than he is from your tongues, while some base and hungry ruffian, to curry favour with a cabal, may, with impunity, insult the King upon his throne, and call him "*Nero*" with as little ceremony as Knatchbull called me a person of reprobated character.

In conclusion, Sir, let me observe, that it is best for us all to *keep our temper*. Nobody can say, that I have not kept mine for thirteen years past ; and, it is now the turn of the "*Education*," which, however, has this consolation, that its turn will not last *so long*. While it does last, pray

keep yourself cool, and let us see the thing end without getting angry with one another.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO

LORD MILTON.

On the Debate on Mr. Western's Resolutions.

Kensington, July 14, 1822.

MY LORD,—The debate on the Resolutions proposed by Mr. WESTERN, on Wednesday last in the House of Commons, contained matters which I think worthy of some particular remarks; and as your Lordship took a very conspicuous part in this debate, I think it proper to address those remarks to you, notwithstanding your “Honourable and Learned Friend the Member for Win-chelsea,” has thought it right to

denounce the doing of precisely such a thing as this, as a breach of the privilege of that body to which you both at present belong.

MR. WESTERN brought forward resolutions, in number eighteen, and in length, quite surprising. They were by no means such, as; in my opinion, were suited to the intended purpose; some of the facts in them are not true; several of these facts, even if true, lead to confusion and error, owing to an unwise selection, and an obscure sort of statement; and upon the whole, formed a motion against which I should certainly have voted if I had been in the House. A simple declaration of the fact of the increase of the value of money, in consequence of legislative measures, and the consequent enriching of tax-eaters at the expense of all the rest of the community, would have been sufficient. If any thing had been added, it ought to have been a distinct declaration of the justice and necessity of speedily reducing the receipts of the tax-eaters, the

landholders included. Instead of this Mr. WESTERN travelled into comparisons about gold and wheat, and God knows what besides; and he concluded with a resolution, not clearly pointing out any thing to be done; but hinting, broadly enough, at a bringing back of the infamous paper-money, or at an alteration of some sort or other in the value of the money of the country.

The motion was lost without a division; but that is nothing as to the question; that is nothing to do in deciding the opinions of the public. It is not the result of the debate, but certain things that are said by the speakers, that I think worthy of attention. Mr. WESTERN, in his description of the state of the country, as produced by the cash payment measures, said nothing that was not prepared to his hands even before the passing of PEEL'S Bill. He asserted that those measures had violated all existing contracts, and said, that they could have proceeded only from ignorance, a

thing which I have said about ten thousand times.

Mr. RICARDO came next; for the Ministers seem to have taken no part in the discussion, except as far as related to Mr. PEEL, who made a single remark, on which I shall observe by-and-by. Mr. RICARDO, who is so well known to have been the principal authority on which PEEL'S Bill was founded, did little more than repeat those absurdities which have been so often published under his name, and so often exposed by me. He denied that *Peel's Bill* had been the cause of the distress; and asked, whether it were not a notorious fact that, "before that *Bill* was passed, prices had not greatly fallen." It is not for me to call this disingenuous or to give it any character whatever; but, though this fact is notorious, it is not more notorious than the fact that it has *never been denied*; but always stated; and that it is not more notorious than the fact, that the fall in prices has never been ascribed to PEEL'S Bill alone; but

to the whole series of measures, beginning with the Bill that provided for Cash Payments in six months after the Peace, and ending with PEEL'S Bill. Mr. RICARDO might, therefore, have saved himself the trouble of resorting to this species of argument. The fallacy has long been exposed; and if it still has the power of deceiving in the Honourable House, he may be assured that it has that power in no other place.

This gentleman is abundant in absurdities; and he has now found out that the distress may be traced to *the great influx of gold into this country; to the improvements in agriculture; and to other causes* which he did not mention; and having said this, he, with all the self-complacency imaginable, asked, "how, *then*, could the distress of agriculture be imputed to the alteration in the value of agriculture?" Just as if his assertions about the influx of gold and the improvements of agriculture, had been, upon his barely

making them, taken and universally acknowledged as *undeniable truths*; when I pledge my life, that there is not one single man in England, out of Bedlam, besides himself, that regards them in that light.

The speech of this gentleman was a tissue of unmeaning phrases: that I should have thought wholly unworthy of notice, had it not been for the two observations upon which I am now about to remark. The first of these was, that, if, as Mr. WESTERN had asserted, the rents had been wholly taken away by taxation, it would be better for the landlords to come to his plan of paying off the debt, *by giving up part of their lands!* Having proved, in my letter to Lord LIVERPOOL of 1820, that this plan would take away *the whole of the lands*, I shall not waste the time of your Lordship, and of my readers, by going over that proof again here; and shall only further remark, on this part of the speech, that the perfect ease and carelessness, with which Mr.

RICARDO talked of the matter; of its being better for the landlords to have *some property*, than no property at all; and of his regarding their rents as he did every other article in the market; I shall only observe, that this carelessness; this as the French would call it, *nonchalance*, with which this gentleman talked of the property, of the estates, of the Landlords; this coolness, this sort of gibing, with which he talked of its being better to leave them something than nothing; I have only to remark, that God, in his wisdom and justice, never provided a more suitable punishment for those who set up the outcry; the false, the base, the hypocritical outcry, against the poor *Spenceans* in 1817; and who applauded their being shut up in prison on a charge of *High Treason*, because they, in their reveries; in their abstract nonsense, talked of a *division of the land*!

The Spenceans called the land the *people's farm*! They mixed up their political economy with

what they said were the principles of the Christian religion. But, be their absurdities what they might, did they go *farther* than to take the land from the landlords? Was there a man in England, who believed that there was real danger from the projects of the Spenceans? Was there a man in England who did not know that the entertaining of these projects was confined to some dozen or two of persons in a very obscure state of life, and without any means of any description to render them formidable! Yet (and what man in England will ever forget this?) it was seriously and solemnly stated, in the Report of the Lords as well as in that of the Commons, that the disaffected persons, against whom SIDMOUTH'S terrible Bills were levelled, aimed at a subversion of property, to be effected by a *new division of the land*. Reformers, Spenceans, all were lumped together; all loaded with this charge; and all thereupon made liable to be shut up in dungeons upon the bare suspicion

of a Secretary of State! Many were so shut up, while their wives and children were suffering from want; many, from such shutting up, were ruined in their affairs, ruined in their health, and one man, *Mr. Riley*, unable to support the torment and gloom of imprisonment, put an end to his existence in a dungeon!

Let that never be effaced from the minds of Englishmen; and let those who have survived the gloom and the torment of the dungeons of that day, exult with me, where they now hear a defender of the funds, proposing a division of the land, with as much carelessness as he would set about carving a pullet or a pie. Those who exulted at the torments and the insults inflicted upon the people in 1817, ought to suffer, not only loss of estate; but loss of every thing, life only excepted; and *that* they ought to be permitted to preserve only that their sufferings may be prolonged. Their sufferings have, as yet, hardly begun; and, in the pro-

gress and termination of them, the world will receive a warning the most striking that Providence ever furnished to man.

The other observation of Mr. Ricardo was this, that, if the House interfered with Peel's Bill, *London would be all in confusion the next day*; and that all would be ruin. He means, I suppose, that the paper bubble would burst; and the whole race of Jews and Jobbers would disappear, as the slugs do before the face of a scorching sun. To that corrupt, that cormorant, that infernal race, it might be total ruin; but, as to the fact about the House interfering with Peel's Bill, the House has *already interfered*, by the Small Note Bill. The avowed object of Peel's Bill was, a return to the *ancient currency* of the country; and the Small Note Bill is intended to prevent, in some degree, a return to that currency. More will be done in the same way, during the next Session of Parliament; but, at any rate, here is an *interference*. The House

has already interfered. Let it be observed, however, that this man of practice about the funds, acknowledges that the whole thing would be blown up, if PEEL'S Bill were repealed; let it be observed that he acknowledges that; and all my readers know well, that, if it be not repealed, and the interest of the Debt not reduced, the men who were dungeoned in 1817, will have ample vengeance on those who insulted them, and who laughed and sang and triumphed, when the news arrived that the troops had marched a whole body of *petitioners* from their place of meeting into a gaol, without warrant, or without even a shadow of a legal proceeding. The men who stood in that gaol-yard two nights and a day in the month of March, with the wet dripping on them, will have to rejoice; that those, who then mocked them, have now to be objects of mockery and scorn in their turn.

It is perfectly true; that, to repeal Peel's Bill would produce a blowing up. It would be an open

declaration of bankruptcy, on the part of the Government. No man would rely on it any more. A hundred of the thing that they call three per cents. would soon sell for no more than ten pounds; and, in a short time, not for the price of a leg of mutton. This would, indeed, enable the Government to *get rid of the Debt*; but, (and this is the thing!) it would, to a certainty, *rid the nation of the Boroughmongering system*! If a *legal tender* be continued, and especially at the mother bank, after next May, it will be a declaration of bankruptcy; and a useless declaration too, for, there must be something more than even that done to give relief, except the Debt called National be reduced. All the struggles; all the writhings and twistings of the *THING*, will prove unavailing. There can be no relief, without a total alteration of the *whole system*; and the only question is, whether that shall be effected quickly, through the means of Reform, or whether it shall be left to effect itself, in

another and very different sort of way.

I now come to the speech of your Lordship, the substance of which was this: that you disapproved of all schemes for raising prices; to lessen taxes was the way to relieve the land; that the farmer would be worse off next year than this year; that it was the interest of the public creditor that taxes should be reduced; that you disapproved of the Kent Petition, and hoped the example would not be followed; that the greater part of the distress arose from the changes in the currency; that you had not much pity for the Country Gentlemen, as a class, they having supported the system of extravagance; that the effect of the cash-measures, "had been anticipated by him (in a speech made at the time,) by the London Tavern Petitioners, by Dr. Copplestone, and others;" that a large reduction of taxation was the only remedy; that you had looked at the proceedings from a

distance; that neither side of the House had done its duty, and that you did not think much of any of the motions that had been made, except those of your learned and Honourable friend, the Member for Winchelsea (Mr. Brougham) and the Honourable Member for York, Mr. Wyville, the former of whom proposed to stop the Sinking Fund, and the latter to take off ten or twenty millions of taxes.

I shall take these in their order. I agree with your Lordship, that nothing ought to be done to raise prices; I agree with you, that to take off taxes is the way to relieve the land, and to relieve every body else except the tax-eaters; I also agree with you, that the farmer will be worse off next year than he is this year, though I cannot but recollect, that this is directly in the teeth of Lord FITZWILLIAM's statement to his tenants when he reduced their rents last fall, the erroneousness of which statement was so clearly exposed by me in my rustic arrangement at Huntingdon, made soon

after that statement was promulgated. But, I now come to matter much less evidently true in point of fact, and surprisingly less reasonable in point of opinion. I agree with you that the changes in the currency have been the immediate cause of the greater part of the distress; but, as to your assertion, that those whom you call the *public creditors* are *interested* in the reduction of taxes; and as to your *disapproval of the Kentish Petition*, I totally disagree with you; and for the reasons which I am now about to state.

Lower down you say, that you approve of the motions of Messrs. BROUGHAM and WYVILLE. By-the-bye (to interrupt myself a little), though I am aware, that your Lordship is one of Burke's *Corinthian Pillars*, and, of course, can take liberties wholly unbecoming in those of the Doric and Teutonic Order; and not to be tolerated in us brick-wall and pavement mortals; though I am well aware of this; though I

make allowances accordingly, and am by no means disposed to affix the epithet *arrogant* to your Lordship's observations, I must, nevertheless, be allowed to say, that, if I had been in your place, and had (from whatever cause) been *absent from my duty* in Parliament during nineteen twentieths of the Session, I would not have taken upon me to say that neither side of the House had done its duty; and if I had, having been absent all the while, erected myself into *sole judge* of all that had been done, I would not have selected for my exclusive approbation, two motions, which had really produced *no effect at all*, while, in my lumping disapprobation, I included all the motions which had taken off *about four millions of taxes*, and, when, amongst the taxes taken off, was a very great part, at any rate, of the cruel, odious, and impolitic tax upon salt.

To return: lower down in your speech you say, that you approve of the motions of Messrs.

Brougham and Wyvile; the first, for stopping the Sinking Fund and the latter for striking off ten or twenty millions of taxes. Ow-
ing, perhaps, to my being rather nearer to the spot than your Lordship, I perceived *no such motions*, made by these gentlemen. Mr. Brougham *talked* about something indeed; he talked about all manner of things, and for a great many hours; and, I dare say, he did *talk about the Sinking Fund*. He talked; oh! God, how he talked! but, indeed, my Lord, he never made any *proposition* for stopping the Sinking Fund. Neither did Mr. Wyvile make *any proposition* for taking off ten or twenty millions of taxes. Neither of them made any distinct proposition; neither of them did any thing that had *any effect upon the country*: any thing that did any good, or that was calculated to do any good.

But, to come back to your proposition, that the public creditors ought to desire such reduction of taxes; you must suppose, then,

that they ought to desire a reduction of their interest; and yet, wonderful to relate, *you disapprove of the Kentish Petition!*

It is impossible to account for the whims and vagaries of some minds, from which whims and vagaries the Corinthian Order does really seem to be full as much liable as any other. You would take off ten, or you would take off twenty millions of taxes; and yet you would not reduce the interest of the debt. Now, the whole of the taxes collected in Great Britain, including the cost of collection, amount to little short of *sixty* millions a-year. Take off ten; that is to say, a *sixth* part of the present burdens. Will that relieve the farmer? Your Lordship ought to know that it would not be equal to the degree in which he has become *worse off* during the last eighteen months. Take off twenty millions. Will that do? Your Lordship ought to know, that even that will not place him where he was at Michaelmas 1819, that is to say, long after *his ruin had*

begun. If he is to be *worse off* *next year* than this year (though four millions of taxes are taken off) how is the taking off of twenty millions to place him where he was even after his ruin had begun? It is not to be supposed that you did not concur in the circular letter addressed by Lord Fitzwilliam to his tenants last fall. That letter described things as having come to a *settled state*; it described prices, as having come to their *lowest*. You have now *changed* your opinion. You now think that the farmer will be *worse off* *next year than this*, though four millions of taxes have been taken off. So short a time having taught you to change your opinion upon so material a point, a little more time may induce you to change it again; from which reflection the Man of Kent will, doubtless, derive some consolation, and live in hope that their Petition will not long continue to be a subject of disapprobation with your Lordship.

Besides the strange notion, that

the farmers are to be relieved by the taking off of taxes so as to *leave forty millions* a year to be collected; besides the strange notion that they will be able to pay the same rents that they paid in ninety-two, when the whole of the taxes, including collection, amounted to *seventeen* millions; besides the strange notion, that they will, with the prices of ninety-two, be able to pay their share of forty millions of taxes, and pay their present rents, or even the rents of ninety-two, into the bargain; besides this strange, this wild, this visionary, and, your Lordship must allow me to say, this Corinthian notion; besides this, have you thought sufficiently of *how* the twenty millions of taxes are to be taken off? Let me put this question to you distinctly. Will you take it from the *Army*, from the *Navy*, from *Waterloo*, from the *tax-gatherers* themselves? Do you propose to reduce the half-pay and pensions? Oh, no; "those who have fought and bled" must be paid. You

will hardly take it from the tax-gatherers that are to collect forty millions a-year. Will you take any thing from the Civil List?—and will you begin with the pensions to *Burke's Executors*? As to the *Army*, do you really propose to collect forty millions of taxes every year *without an army*? Oh, no; no man, out of Bedlam entertains any notion quite so mad! It is useless, therefore, to cry out against the *extravagance* of the Government, or to say, that you do not pity the country gentlemen who have supported that extravagance. These things are all *necessary* to uphold the *Debt* and the *Boroughs*; the debt is necessary to the boroughs; and all the above-mentioned things are necessary to both. The pensions of *BURKE* and those to his *Executors* are amongst the most extravagant and profligate things that have ever been witnessed by this oppressed nation, whom they have cost more than *seventy thousand pounds* already, given to that venal scribe for being the trumpeter

to that very war, which created three-fourths of the Debt, and which has finally produced the ruin and famine that we behold. Yet, even that most extravagant and most profligate of all things that ever was heard of, was *necessary* to the Debt and Borough-system; and, as long as that system last, the same things must continue to be.

It is in vain, therefore, to talk about reducing taxes, unless you begin with the debt. To call upon the Ministers to pay the interest of this debt, and, at the same time, to take from them the army, the taxgatherers, and all the rest of what you call extravagant expenditure, is going beyond the *Corinthian*, it is going back to the *Egyptian*, and being like *Pharaoh*, who would have the same quantity of bricks without any allowance of straw. But (and here is *the rub*), the debt cannot be reduced without a reduction of the boroughs. *Peterborough*, *Higham Ferrers*, and all those other sweet sink-holes,

that produce us the benefit of the wisdom arising from the "*education of the country*;" sweet Winchelsea, Knaresborough, Calne, and all the other sweet places, must be laid open, and, in short, no longer bless us with such bundles of wisdom; or, the interest of the debt cannot be reduced. It is the debt which upholds the boroughs, and the boroughs have created the debt. Your Lordship seems to *'smell* (which is full as correct as to say that you *feel*) that these dear companions are inseparable. Like Saul and Jonathan they have lived sweetly together; and *in their deaths they will not be divided*. This your Lordship seems to smell; but I can assure you, that you will never get twenty millions of taxes taken off as long as they *live*; the conclusion therefore is, and happy I am that it is such, there must be a *Reform of the Parliament*, or, the *total ruin of the present race of Farmers and Landlords*.

I need say no more as to the

subject before the House: but, in the course of your Lordship's speech, there dropped out an observation, in which I myself, though of the Brick-wall and Pavement Order, cannot help feeling, some little personal interest. Speaking of PEEL's Bill, you said, that, "the effect of that measure had been *anticipated* by him (you)-in a *speech* made at the time; by the *London Tavern Petitioners*; by Dr. COPPLESTON; and *others*." Now as to the *speech* made by your Lordship at the time, in the first place, *I never heard* of it before; I can find no traces of it any where, and yet, if there be a man, that has kept a sharper look out than myself for things of this sort, I should be glad to see that man. In the next place, this speech, Corinthian though doubtless it was, certainly produced *no effect* upon the Parliament, who voted the measure *unanimously*; nor did it produce any effect upon your own party, who, it is perfectly notorious, were not only the chief

supporters, but even the inventors of the measure; and who found fault of it only because it was not *more rapid in its operations!* As to the Petitioners at the London Tavern, their interference I very well recollect; and I did, "*at the time,*" or as soon as possible afterwards, notice the sensible speech of Mr. ATTWOOD in moving that Petition. Dr. COPPLESTON wrote his pamphlet late in the year 1818, or early in the year 1819; that is to say, just before the measure was brought forward; but let it be observed that this humbug was an *advocate for the measure!* He did, indeed, say, there would be distress, but he did not contemplate distress like the present. He did not talk about the ruin of *Landlords and Parsons.* He did not talk about the *transfer of estates.* This humbug thought that nothing but paper-money people were about to be *pulled down,* and that Farmer's were about to be *lowered;* and never dreamed of what was about to take place; much less did he

ever *describe* it. But there were "*OTHERS;*" and why did your Lordship not *name* those *others?* It was beneath a Corinthian Pillar, I suppose, to say, that in 1811, *from Newgate* the first warning came forth in "*Paper against Gold;*" that the "*Register*" contained warning upon warning from 1814 to 1818; and that in the month of July 1818, the "*Twopenny Trash,*" in a *Letter to TIERNEY,* depicted, before-hand, not only the ruin, but the *measure* of it, and the *manner* of it, just as it has now come to pass; to say this might have been beneath a Corinthian Pillar; but, then, you may be well assured, that the public will agree with me, that the Corinthian Pillar would have done better to say nothing at all about *anticipation;* and, let me observe, in conclusion, that, it does seem a little strange, that you should have thought it proper (and at this time of day too) to refer to a speech of your own making, which *never found its way into print,* while you seem to have

wholly forgotten writings that have passed through edition after edition, and have been read, and are read, with great attention by so very large a portion of the people. Ah! Lord Milton, your stomach must come down, or, the consequences will be such as, with all your powers of *foresight*, you do not seem to "*anticipate*" in the smallest degree. It is a strange thing that none of you can perceive how much credit you would get by acting the manly part as to this matter; and, which is of full as much importance, what a triumph you give me every time you act a part of a contrary character. I am more than half convinced, that your *disapprobation of the Kentish Petition* arose from the same identical feeling, which made you recollect your own and Dr. COPPLESTON'S *anticipations*; but I am also convinced, that the county of Kent, participating in no such feeling, will remain satisfied with what it did, your Lordship's disapprobation notwithstanding; and this I know to a certainty, that if

the rest of the nation do not follow the sensible example, the suffering in consequence will belong much more to the Corinthian Pillars than to the Order of Brick-wall and Pavement.

I am, Sir,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
And most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

To the Representatives in Parliament of the County of Kent.

As one of your constituents and one who attended the Meeting of the County on Tuesday last, I make no scruple of addressing you on what took place at that meeting. Both of you appear by the report in the Morning Chronicle on the Petition being presented to the House of Commons, to agree in opinion as to what the Meeting appeared to consider, although last, not the least valuable part of it; viz. the rider to it, calling on the Honourable House, as soon as it had reformed itself, to make a just reduction of the National Debt; *it was, I believe, by no means expected it would do so before.* You both protest against

it in the name of the County; why did not you do so at the Meeting? but I believe if you had, and with the assistance of that very modest Gentleman the Member for Wareham, and in addition all the great leading characters of the County, both Whigs and Tories, I much doubt if you would have deterred the Meeting from passing the resolution. But, Sirs, the idea of a reduction of the National Debt is not new in the County of Kent, and both of you must be aware of it; at least I know that a pamphlet was written by a Man of Kent, and on the commencement of the present Session of Parliament printed and published by Mr. SMITH, of Maidstone, recommending first a Reform in Parliament, and then a reduction of the National Debt. I also know that one of them was sent to each of you; but whether you took the trouble of reading it or not I do not know, or whether Mr. Cobbett has read that pamphlet I cannot say, but his resolution runs on all fours with that part of it respecting the reduction of the National Debt. Far from considering the county disgraced by passing the resolution, I am very glad it has taken the lead on such an occasion. Let me ask you what the Meeting was called for, was

not its object twofold, namely, to consider of a Petition to Parliament on the distressed state of the country, and the defective representation of the people? Well then, was not the National Debt contracted by Parliaments constituted in the same way as the present one, which the Meeting thought wanted reforming; as such was it not very natural for those at the Meeting to think it necessary that after the reform had taken place it would be right that the immense debt should undergo an investigation, to see if at least some part of it might not in justice be reduced, for that was the substance of the Resolution? I for one should be very sorry that justice were not done to the public creditor, but at the same time, I also wish to see justice done to the public debtor, who is now paying, and has been almost ever since the passing of Mr. Peel's Bill in 1819, at least 30s. for 20s. —That the country was brought into its present state by the holy crusade against Revolutionary France, does not admit of a doubt, and I wish to God that those who were the authors of that crusade only had to suffer for it, but (as it is too generally) in this case the innocent suffer with the guilty. Where is the justice of one class

of the community, and that not the least valuable,—I mean the middle class; namely, farmers, manufacturers,* and those in trade, being ruined before any of the other classes in society will hardly believe but that the machine works well? In conclusion I beg to say, that I think if one of two remedies are not speedily applied, viz. if the National Debt and Taxes be not reduced (and in the same proportion all private debts) so as to approximate to what they were in 1791, as all the necessities of life are; or the repeal of Mr. Peel's Bill and consequently an increase in the circulating medium, and with it economy, rigid economy, (but even then I contend we shall want a reduction of the debt, though on a less scale and by more gradual means) we must all be involved in one common ruin.

Your's, &c. &c.

A YEOMAN OF KENT.

June 15th.

* The Manufacturers appear to have rallied again; but it does not, I think, require the gift of prophecy to foresee that if the occupiers of the land, and those immediately connected with them, continue in their present deplorable condition, they will soon be reduced to perhaps as bad a state as they were a few years since.

FOR SALE

At the Office of the Register,

The *Annual Register*, from the first Volume, 1758, to the 34th Volume, 1792, one volume for each year. This work is bound in calf, in the best manner, and is as good as new.—Price *Ten Pounds*, very little more than the cost of the binding.

N. B. The *Encyclopedia*, advertized last week, was sold on Tuesday for the 20l. as advertized.—This notice is given in answer to two gentlemen, who have written for it from the country.

DINNER

TO MR. WOOLER.

THIS Dinner, which was noticed last Week for the 26th instant, at Birmingham, is to be given on the 29th. The Committee, in answer to their very kind invitation, are hereby requested to receive my thanks, and to be assured, that, if a motive had been wanting in me to attend at this Dinner, their Letter would have been more than sufficient.

WM. COBBETT.

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TO
THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

THE BISHOP AND THE SOLDIER.

"Ye shall not respect persons in judgment; but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's."

DEUTERONOMY, Chap. I. V. 17.

Kensington, 24 July 1832.

COUNTRYMEN,

ON the above subject you will find, at the end of this Address, some articles, first published in *The Statesman Newspaper*. The object of the present Address is, to call your attention to the subject of the *Administration of Justice*, which, at this moment, is of all others, the subject most interesting to us.

Justice, as applied to the decisions of courts, as applied to laws and the execution of the laws, means *impartiality* in what is

done. The law may be very lenient or very severe, and equally just in both cases. The laws of England which hang men for murder, and those of Pennsylvania which imprison murderers for life, have no difference in point of justice. But, if the laws of any country, hanged men, in one situation of life, for murder, and punished men, in another situation of life, with transportation, or something short of death; those laws would be unjust, and would, in fact, be acts of tyranny so outrageous as to justify, and fully justify, the use of effectual means to overthrow the Government that had made such laws.

No country that I know of, except the *slave-countries*, have ever been disgraced and cursed by laws of this description. In those horrid countries (Virginia, for instance), it was, until of late years, *not murder to kill a black*, which was punished with a *fine* of about fifty pounds sterling. Now, the law makes it murder; but, to the shame of America, to the shame

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of *Republican Government*, this murder is frequently committed, in all the Slave States; but, I believe, no man can produce an instance of a *white murderer* having been punished as a murderer!

This is that abuse in the administration of justice; that base partiality; that perverting of judgment, against which the Bible, in more than two hundred places, cautions man, and against the doing of which it utters such horrible denunciations. An *impartial* administration of the laws is the very foundation of civil society, into which men *could not* have entered without a compact, necessarily implied, that such impartiality should always take place. Courts and Judges are venerated, and held in the highest respect, because their decisions, which have so much effect upon the affairs of men, are looked upon as being *just*; as being, in all respects perfect, as far as any thing human can pretend to perfection. The Courts of Justice are the last resort of the oppressed. Riches, and the power inseparable from riches, would make the poor man even more degraded than the beast, could he not rely on justice from the laws. This is that

equality of which men speak, as being so desirable a thing to secure by political institutions; an impartial, an equal, an even-handed administration of the laws; for, where this is wanting, to talk of liberty or property is an abuse of words and a mockery upon the community. Indeed there is no *community*; for, community means a right in common to be treated in a certain manner by the laws; and where the treatment is not *common to all*, there is, in fact no community: it is a herd of slaves governed by a tyranny.

In the way of preface to what I have to say upon the subject stated at the head of this paper, I have been led into these general observations, not by any suspicion that any thing has been or will be, attempted by persons in power, to screen the parties, or, rather, the principal party, implicated in this horrid transaction; not by any suspicion of this sort have I been led to make these observations, but by the conduct of that infamous part of the Press, of which I have so long been the accuser, which has so long been the instrument of every thing that is base and corrupt, and which, under the epithet "*respectable*," has been distinguished, by the enemies of

our freedom and happiness, from that part of the press which has been the constant advocate of freedom and of morals.

This part of the Press; this "*respectable*" part of the press, which was so loud, so vehement, in the case of the *poor* miscreants of *Vere-street*, has now been either silent (as the *Old Times*,) or, has been hatching apologies, as in the case of the *New Times*. In this way, this "*respectable*" part of the press has been at work to pave the way, if possible, for that, which to suppose possible, would be an offence that would bring down on the supposer the severest punishment. The design of this part of the press manifestly has been to smother the whole transaction if possible; and, if that were not possible, to provide, if possible, impunity for the offender; than which design, there never was, perhaps, in the world, any thing equal in point of turpitude. I have long denounced this press as the deluder of the people; as the foe of freedom and of justice; as the promoter of vice, of rigour, and of cruelty; and now it stands, before this abused nation, proved guilty of all the charges that I ever brought against it. In the weekly paper, the *Observer*, which has acted an honest part upon

this occasion, I first saw an account of the transaction on Sunday morning. "Now," said I, "we shall see how this Sunday has been employed." I then sent for the *John Bull*, and found that John was not to be had so early as the other papers; because the printing of him had been delayed by an accident, which had happened to his machinery! I wanted nothing more to convince me that the work was carrying on with a heavy hand; and that it was necessary for me to be in London early the next morning to see the extent of the effect of that work, which extent, however, I pretty well guessed at the moment I heard of the accident in *John Bull's* machinery. By about six o'clock I had the fruits of the whole of the "*respectable*" part of the press of that morning before me; and in about six hours after that, I had exhibited it for the inspection of the public.

In order to form an adequate idea of the baseness of this "*respectable*" part of the press, we must consider, First, The situation in life of the principal party; Second, What had been stated as the result of his detection; and Third, How this result squares with the bail and other things demanded and enforced upon certain

other occasions. When we have taken a view of all these, and seen what a case it forms all taken together; and when we have again reflected, that this "respectable" and base press, either passed the thing over in total silence, or, so disguised, and so mutilated the matter, so cautiously spoke of it; so studiously crammed the few words into an obscure corner; when we have done all this, we shall, and not till then, be able to form something of an idea of the baseness of this "respectable" London Press, the equal of which, I am happy to believe, does not exist in the whole world.

The principal person concerned in the horrid transaction, is a *Bishop of the Church of England*, and as such announced from the beginning. We know well, that, to publish any thing tending to excite hatred or contempt of the body of Bishops would expose any man to the severest punishment. There is at this time, I believe, a prosecution pending in the Court of King's Bench, in consequence of a criminal information moved for by Lawyer Scarlett, against a printer in the North, who had published something reflecting on the Clergy of the county of Durham. Not on any particular clergyman; but

on the Clergy of the County in general, there being no particular plaintiff or complainant. You will observe, that the Judges granted the criminal information. They did not refer the matter to a Grand Jury. So that this is a body of men entitled to *peculiar protection*; for, it is hardly to be believed, that a criminal information would have been obtained against a man for publishing a censure on the *Miners* of Durham, the *Weavers* of Lancashire, or the *Farmers* of Norfolk. Yet, it is very difficult to say why either of these classes should not be entitled to the same protection as the *Parsons*.

Never mind, however; let that go. The person principally concerned is a Bishop of the Church of England; a Right Reverend *Father in God*. He is, too, of what is called *noble birth*. The pedigree of his family, as published in the peerage, says that he is descended from a noble family of Normandy; that his ancestor came over to England in the reign of Edward the Confessor; that this ancestor returned to France, and came over again in company with William that they call the Conqueror; and had divers English lands and estates bestowed upon him. Thus, then,

here was a great personage, indeed:—Here was one of the old hack Burke's "*Corinthian Pillars of polished society*;" here was that to begin with. Next came the *Clergyman of the Church of England*; next came the Bishop, and a Bishop not of yesterday, I assure you. He appears to have been born about fifty-six or fifty-seven years ago, and he has been a Bishop fifteen years. After being a Bishop for nearly the whole of this time, he was promoted, that is to say, raised, a little while ago, from the rich Bishopric of Ferns to the richer Bishopric of Clogher.

In the course of these fifteen years what are the duties that he has not had to perform; and how great have been the powers that he possessed! If it be true, and true it is, because told us by unerring wisdom, that, where much is given much is required, how much was there required at the hands of this man! The income of his Bishopric has been stated at *thirteen thousand pounds a year*. But, besides this, let us consider, what is the nature of his engagement on becoming a Bishop. This is of the utmost importance in the present case; and, though most of us know that the engagement is of a most se-

rious and even awful nature, still we can hardly have an idea, from mere recollection, how solemn, sacred, and awful, it really is. This being the case, I shall here insert, from the Book of Common Prayer, a part of what takes place at the consecration of a Bishop; and which must, of necessity, have taken place at the consecration of this very person.

Every thing being prepared, the Archbishop, who is to perform the office of Consecration, is to begin the Communion service, in which the following is to be the Collect:

"Almighty God, who by thy Son Jesus Christ didst give to thy holy Apostles many excellent gifts, and didst charge them to feed thy flock; Give grace, we beseech thee, that they may diligently preach thy Word, and duly administer the godly discipline thereof; and grant to the people, that they may obediently follow the same; that all may receive the crown of everlasting glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Then comes the reading of the following passage from the first of Timothy, chapter the third, verse the first:

"This is a true saying, If a

"man desire the office of a
 "Bishop, he desireth a good
 "wash. A Bishop then must be
 "blameless, the husband of one
 "wife, vigilant, sober, of good
 "behaviour, given to hospitality,
 "apt to teach; not given to wine,
 "no striker, not greedy of filthy
 "lucre; but patient, not a brawler,
 "not covetous; one that ruleth
 "well his own house, having his
 "children in subjection with all
 "gravity; (for if a man know not
 "how to rule his own house, how
 "shall he take care of the Church
 "of God?) Not a novice, lest
 "being lifted up with pride he
 "fall into the condemnation of
 "the devil. Moreover he must
 "have a good report of them
 "which are without; lest he fall
 "into reproach and the snare of
 "the devil."

After this, at some distance on,
 comes the reading of the follow-
 ing passage from Saint Mat-
 thew, chapter twenty-eight, verse
 eighteen:

"Jesus came and spake unto
 "them, saying, All power is given
 "unto me in heaven and in
 "earth. Go ye therefore, and
 "teach all nations, baptizing
 "them in the name of the Father,
 "and of the Son, and of the
 "Holy Ghost: teaching them to

"observe all things whatsoever
 "I have commanded you: and
 "lo, I am with you alway, even
 "unto the end of the world."

When the ceremony has pro-
 ceeded thus far, the person to be
 made a bishop is presented to the
 Archbishop sitting in his chair
 near the Holy Table; the Bi-
 shops who present him saying,

"Most Reverend Father in
 "God, we present unto you this
 "godly and well-learned man to
 "be ordained and consecrated
 "Bishop."

The oath of allegiance and su-
 premaccy is then administered to
 him, and also an oath of obe-
 dience to the Archbishop. Then
 the Archbishop, in the following
 words, moves the congregation to
 pray,

"Brethren, it is written in the
 "Gospel of Saint Luke, That our
 "Saviour Christ continued the
 "whole night in prayer, before
 "he did choose and send forth
 "his twelve Apostles. It is
 "written also in the Acts of the
 "Apostles, that the Disciples who
 "were at Antioch did fast, and
 "pray, before they laid hands on
 "Paul and Barnabas, and sent
 "them forth. Let us therefore
 "following the example of our

"Saviour Christ; and his Apostles,
 "first fall to prayer, before we
 "admit, and send forth this per-
 "son presented unto us, to the
 "work whereunto we trust the
 "Holy Ghost hath called him."

Then follows the Litany with
 the following passage in it:

"That it may please thee to
 "bless this our Brother elected,
 "and to send thy grace upon him,
 "that he may duly execute the
 "office whereunto he is called, to
 "the edifying of thy church, and
 "to the honour, praise, and glory
 "of thy name."

This being done, and another
 prayer having been said, the fol-
 lowing questions and answers take
 place between the Archbishop
 and the newly elected Bishop, to
 which questions and answers, I
 beg my readers to pay particular
 attention:

"*Archbishop.*—Brother, foras-
 "much as the Holy Scripture and
 "the ancient Canons command,
 "that we should not be hasty in
 "laying on hands, and admitting
 "any person to Government in
 "the Church of Christ, which he
 "hath purchased with no less
 "price than the effusion of his
 "own blood; before I admit you
 "to this Administration, I will

"examine you in certain articles,
 "to the end that the Congrega-
 "tion present may have a trial,
 "and bear witness, how you be
 "minded to behave yourself in
 "the Church of God.—Are you
 "persuaded that you be truly
 "called to this Ministration, ac-
 "cording to the will of our Lord
 "Jesus Christ, and the order of
 "this realm?"

"*Answer.*—I am so persuaded."

"*Archbishop.*—Are you per-
 "suaded that the Holy Scriptures
 "contain sufficiently all doctrine
 "required of necessity for eternal
 "salvation through faith in Jesus
 "Christ? And are you deter-
 "mined, out of the same Holy
 "Scriptures to instruct the people
 "committed to your charge; and
 "to teach or maintain nothing as
 "required of necessity to eternal
 "salvation, but that which you
 "shall be persuaded may be con-
 "cluded and proved by the same?"

"*Answer.*—I am so persuaded
 "and determined by God's Grace."

"*Archbishop.*—Will you then
 "faithfully exercise yourself in
 "the same Holy Scriptures, and
 "call upon God by prayer, for
 "the true understanding of the
 "same; so as you may be able
 "by them to teach and exhort

"with wholesome doctrine, and
"to withstand and convince the
"gainsayers?"

"*Answer.*—I will so do, by the
"help of God."

"*Archbishop.*—Are you ready,
"with all faithful diligence, to
"banish and drive away all er-
"roneous and strange doctrine,
"contrary to God's word; and
"both privately and openly to
"call upon and encourage others
"to the same?"

"*Answer.*—I am ready, the
"Lord being my helper."

"*Archbishop.*—Will you deny
"all ungodliness and worldly lust,
"and live soberly, righteously,
"and godlily, in this present world;
"that you may show yourself in
"all things an example of good
"works unto others, that the ad-
"versary may be ashamed, hav-
"ing nothing to say against you?"

"*Answer.*—I will so do, the
"Lord being my helper."

"*Archbishop.*—Will you main-
"tain and set forward, as much
"as shall lie in you, quietness,
"love, and peace among men;
"and such as be unquiet, dis-
"obedient, and criminous, within
"your diocese, correct and pu-
"nish, according to such autho-

"rity as you have by God's word,
"and as to you shall be committed
"by the ordinance of this
"Realm?"

"*Answer.*—I will so do, by the
"help of God."

"*Archbishop.*—Will you be
"faithful in ordaining, sending, or
"laying hands upon others?"

"*Answer.*—I will so be, by the
"help of God."

"*Archbishop.*—Will you shew
"yourself gentle, and be merciful
"for Christ's sake, to poor and
"needy people, and to all stran-
"gers destitute of help?"

"*Answer.*—I will so shew my-
"self, by God's help."

Then the Archbishop, standing
up, says, "Almighty God, our
"Heavenly Father, who hath
"given you a good will to do all
"these things, Grant also unto
"you strength and power to per-
"form the same; that, he accom-
"plishing in you the good work
"which he hath begun, you may
"be found perfect and irrepre-
"hensible at the latter day;
"through Jesus Christ our Lord.
"Amen."

Then the Archbishop and Bi-
shops present lay their hands
upon the head of the elected.

Bishop, kneeling before them upon his knees, the Archbishop, saying,

“ *Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. And remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands: for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love and soberness.* ”

Then the Archbishop delivers him the Bible, saying,

“ Give heed unto reading, exhortation, and doctrine. Think upon the things contained in this book. Be diligent in them, that the increase coming thereby may be manifest unto all men. Take heed unto thyself and to doctrine, and be diligent in doing them: for by so doing thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee. Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd, not a wolf; feed them, devour them not. Hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind up the broken, bring again the outcasts, seek

the lost. Be so merciful, that you be not too remiss; so minister discipline, that you forget not mercy: that when the chief Shepherd shall appear, you may receive the never-fading crown of glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

Now mind, here was a solemn declaration, made before God at the altar, that he believed himself called by the Spirit of God; and here was a solemn receiving of the *Holy Ghost*! To dwell upon such a thing would be useless, and worse than useless, because it would be an insult to the moral feelings of the reader. I beg the reader, however, to think of the punishment that has been inflicted upon Mr. Carlile and his wife and sister for expressing their opinions, hostile to that religion, of which the above cited is one of the ceremonies.

Besides his office of Bishop, he is one of the “ *Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland.* ” Here was another great duty taken upon himself. One can hardly contemplate with a steady eye, the magnitude of these two offices; and when we consider the enormous worldly gains attending them; the great riches; the power; the splendour;

all the endless advantages appertaining to his rank and dignity, how much has been given here can we easily say; and, shall he give the Scriptures the lie and say that much ought not to have been expected? Shall we say that the act ought to have been disguised; and that, because wealth and honours had been bestowed on the party with such profusion, his offence should have been dealt with, in a manner in which it has been dealt with by the "respectable" and infamous press, while that same press, had he been a tradesman, artisan, or labourer, would have blazoned forth the name and the act, day after day, as it has done upon so many occasions when the offence has been of a comparatively insignificant nature?

We now come to what has been stated in the newspapers as the result of this transaction. It is said that the offender was held to bail, two tradesmen being his sureties, and he being suffered to go at large, upon their giving bail to the amount of five hundred pounds each; and that the soldier, for want of bail, was committed to take his trial! Time will show us how this matter stands. In the meanwhile, the newspapers tell us, that Mr. Dyer;

the Magistrate, upon the representation of Mr. Alley, found himself obliged to admit the Bishop to bail. I do not know how Mr. Dyer could be obliged to do this; and that, too, without any remanding; without any re-examination; without any of that time for deliberation, which has been taken in so many other cases. Mr. John Knight of Manchester and others were not admitted to bail. They were, indeed, charged with High Treason; but when they came to trial, they were tried for misdemeanor; but had never been admitted to bail.

Another observation is, that surely the Soldier might have found bail proportionate to that of the Bishop. The Bishop's bail was only to a thirteenth part of the amount of his annual income. Now, a thirteenth part of the Soldier's income would have been twenty-eight shillings; and could not the Soldier get two men to be bound for him in a bail bond of fourteen shillings a-piece? It must be a forlorn dog indeed that could not have mustered up the twenty-eight shillings to lodge with the Justice in the way of surety. The law says, indeed, that excessive bail shall not be demanded; but, if this were the proper bail for a Bishop, what

was my bail, after having been sentenced to pass two years with fellows from whose society I re- deemed myself by paying up- wards of *twelve hundred pounds*, for the bare use of private rooms in the gaol; after paying a thou- sand pounds fine to the King, and all this for having expressed my indignation at the flogging of English Militia-men under a guard of German Bayonets; if the Bishop's bail was a proper one, what was my bail of *three thou- sand* pounds myself, with two sureties of a thousand pounds each, to keep the peace and be of good behaviour for *seven years* after the expiration of the two years that I was sentenced to pass amongst felons! And what is the bail of Mr. Carlile? The precise amount of the bail I do not know; but I know that it is *for life*, at the end of his *three years* of imprison- ment. I know that there is heavy bail also in the case of his sister, and I know that their fines al- together amount to fifteen hundred pounds, just one-third part more than the bail taken of the Bishop. Joseph Swann was sentenced by the Magistrates of Cheshire, from one and the same Quarter Sessions, under three indictments for what are called Libel and Sedition to an imprisonment for **FOUR**

YEARS AND A HALF, leaving a wife and four small children who had never been paupers before to become paupers or to perish. Besides this, he was a long time in prison before *for the want of bail*. What bail was demanded of him I do not know; but in all human probability, not less than a tenth part, at least, of that which was taken of the Bishop, though his income could not have been a five hundredth part of that of the Bishop.

These are the things that we ought to treasure up in our minds. John Hayes of Boulton, whose crime was going round the town of Boulton to inform his townsmen that their countryman William Cobbett had arrived at Liverpool in good health, was sent to gaol for ten weeks, because he did not find bail. What bail was de- manded of him I know not. It could hardly have been less than a tenth part of what was taken from the Bishop; and at the end of the ten weeks John Hays was never brought to trial at all.

The newspapers may have been misinformed about the thousand pound bail taken from the Bishop. Mr. Dyer may have taken fifty thousand pounds bail for any thing that I know to the contrary, and "two Tradesmen" may not have

been the sureties; but, at any rate, this is what has been announced to the public; and that public I conjure to be upon the *constant watch* to see the termination of this affair. My readers may be well assured that this attempt on the part of the "*respectable*" and infamous part of the press will be attended with consequences very different from that, expected by those who have been at work with that press, which has now, however, fixed its character for ever, and blasted itself for ever, with every honest man in the world. Do they think they can hide this matter under a blanket? The thing is already gone, not only to the utmost corners of this country; but, is already in France, and in more than one ship to carry it to America. In the latter country every eye will be directed to the winding up of this drama. There the press will disguise nothing. It will tell all, and men will openly and freely express what they think of every one concerned in the transaction from the first to the last.

Though noticed elsewhere in this same Register, I cannot refrain from again adverting to the baseness of the morning Papers in totally suppressing the speech

of Sir William de Crespigny in the House of Commons, on Monday night, when he noticed this affair, and observed that the public was greatly indebted to the Statesman newspaper for the impartiality that it had shown. Nothing shows so strongly as this the lengths to which the "*respectable*" and corrupt press is capable of going. There is room for shuffle, at any rate, with regard to the other parts of its conduct. The Editors may say that they were blind, that they were drunk, that they were "*insane*" as the old Doctors' Commons Doctor of the New Times says of the Bishop. They may say that it was an unfortunate time of the moon; and that, as the Bishop *must* have been mad, so they might well have been mad too, being persons not by any means fortified in a manner equal to the Bishop. But, here is the devil to do, in the case of Sir Wm. de Crespigny's speech; for here are *all of their reporters*, not much less than *fifty in number*. They could not all be deaf, drunk, or mad. We should soon have the Penitentiaries and Bedlam full, at this rate. Here are fifty men, with pen in hand and books open before them, and not a word do they put down of Sir William de

Crespigny's speech. The *generous Collyer* would, perhaps, "*take the whole upon himself*," as far as related to the *Old Times*; but there were five or six other papers; and, in short, the fact is clear enough, when they got home to their several news-offices, that part of their report was expunged, by those who knew, not only the value of words, but also the value of blank spaces where words ought to be.

I take my leave of this affair for the present, with once more requesting the people in every part of the country to be upon the watch; for, this is a matter that will never die as long as the system shall live. We have had outcry enough about Jacobins and Radicals, and about Sedition and Blasphemy. We have had bel-lowings enough from the *Old Times* newspaper against the courageous women who have maintained their opinions with ruin and prisons and torture before their eyes. We now have this newspaper, in its true colours and character, and all those whom it has persecuted are beginning to take their just vengeance on it.

The very greatest of all the evils that have ever afflicted the country has been this corrupt press. Those who praised the

nefarious thing during the season of *Six-Acts* knew well its various uses. The crafty Scotch Lawyer; that smooth, that soft spoken, that canting, that humanity gentleman, knew well the uses of this mercenary machine, when he called it respectable and contrasted it with that which he was so anxious to destroy; when he was praising to the skies one of the old battered hacks of Corruption, and pointing out for bloody vengeance him whom he knew could not be corrupted. Let him now take the respectable part of the press to his bosom. Let him take it as his own breed and seed; for he is really one of the [fathers of it. And let us quit the thing for the present, with a resolution to return to it again, till it become as notorious as its infamous twin brother; which is as notorious as the Sun at noon-day.

WM. CORBETT.

THE THING,

AND

THE INFAMOUS NEWSPAPERS:
THE BISHOP AND THE SOLDIER.

Reprinted from "THE STATES-
MAN" of Monday.

Our readers have often had to oblige us by their attention to

what we have said of the blessed THING. We are now going to trouble them upon an extraordinary occasion indeed, and are going to give an instance of the baseness and infamy of the London newspapers, such as we never before had it in our power to give; and such as we are quite sure will, before we have done with it, implant the character of everlasting infamy upon that corrupt press, which has so long been boasting of its independence and its honour. What a deal we have heard about the press being the *guardian of public morals*. What volumes have we read about its powers of correction of evil! We have, indeed, heard a part of it condemned, the *unstamped* part of it; that part of it has been pointed out as the refuse part; as the vile part: as the part which required laws to restrain it, to shackle it, to cramp it, to load it, to destroy it, if possible. We have heard Honourable Members in the Honourable House, make a distinction between the *respectable* part of the press and another part, which they denominated *unrespectable*. We have heard volumes upon volumes of commendation, praise and puffery, about this respectable part of the press. We have always denominated it

infamous; we have always said that that part of it which was met absolutely in the pay of Corruption was engaged in a shameless fare quite as servicable to Corruption as the efforts of her own hirelings; and that with perhaps a trifling exception or two, it was a mass of infamous fraud carried on under the name of impartiality; sending forth lies, endless in number, and boundless in magnitude, vomiting forth calumnies on the defenceless; and suppressing, through the means of bribery, directly or indirectly received, every fact that could tend to expose the THING, and to give the common people their fair chance in society. This has been the character of this infamous press ever since we have known it; but we shall presently have to show our readers, that it has now surpassed even its own infamy, and done a deed so black as to make its former infamies turn pale.

We have first to insert an article from the weekly paper the *Observer*; to which paper the public will be in great part indebted for the knowledge of the horrible affair which the article describes. We shall then offer a few observations, that may serve just for the present on the manner in which the THING has been

and is likely to be illustrated by the circumstances of the transaction alluded to; and then we shall lay before our readers an account of the conduct of the "respectable" and infamous part of the press, upon this occasion; naming the several papers; and making them as notorious as it is in our power to make them.

From the Observer Sunday Newspaper, July 21, 1822.

HORRIBLE OCCURRENCE—Saturday.

It is our painful and disgusting task this day to notice a charge which has been made against a *Right Reverend Bishop*, at Marlborough Street police office, at which human nature revolts. The circumstances are of such public notoriety at the west end of the town, that it would be in vain, if any delicacy were due to the party accused, to attempt to keep them from general observation. The individual to whom we allude was recently promoted to an Irish bishopric, and is nearly related to a *Peer in Parliament*. He is an elderly man, and we understand was much respected in that class of society to which he belonged. On Friday night it appears that he was detected in a back room of the *White Lion public-house*, in *St. Alban's Place, St. James's*, in a situation with a *private in the Foot Guards*, to which we will not more minutely allude, but which led to his instant apprehension and removal with his companion to the watch-house. There were not fewer than seven witnesses to the fact; and it would seem that the Reverend Prelate with difficulty escaped the vengeance of the populace, who, if not prevented by the peace-officers, would have sacrificed him to their indignation

on the spot. As it was, he was severely beaten. On being secured in the watch-house, he offered bail to any amount for his liberation; but this was very properly refused, and he remained locked up in the cell during the night in a state of mind which may be more easily imagined than described. Yesterday morning he was conveyed in a hackney-coach to Marlborough-street, and was soon afterwards followed by the Soldier. They were both pursued by the execrations and revilings of the crowd which had been collected on so extraordinary an occasion. Mr. DYER, the presiding Magistrate, determined on a private examination, at which Mr. ALLEY, who attended for the Bishop, was present. The witnesses were called in separately, but their testimony was in all respects consistent, and the case established was to a certain extent of the clearest nature. Mr. ALLEY, however, submitted that as the capital charge had not been borne out, his Client was entitled to bail; a proposition to which we understand Mr. DYER was obliged to accede; and the wretched offender was permitted, in the course of the day, to go at large, upon finding sureties to the amount of one thousand pounds. The soldier, not so fortunate, was committed to take his trial.—For reasons which are obvious, we decline entering more minutely into the details of this most shocking affair; but we ought in justice to a worthy prelate, whose name has unfortunately been mentioned by mistake, in connexion with the charge, to request our readers to reflect before they come to a positive determination as to the party really implicated.

When our readers have gone through this article, and have heard us declare our perfect conviction of its truth; when they have heard us say, that it is agree-

able, as far as it goes, with the inquiries which we have made, when they have further heard, that the scene of the brutal transaction was in a back room of the public-house abovementioned; that the parties had drawn down the curtains of the room, but had left a part that the curtains did not cover but that might be seen through; that a little girl (vindictress of her sex!) happening to go into the back court into which the window looked, wondering to see the curtains drawn, had the curiosity to look in, where she saw the parties engaged in a way not to be described; that the little girl (better guardian of public morals than the "respectable" part of the press) ran to the landlord, who came out with other persons with him, who were all witnesses of the fact, to that certain extent, at least, of which the *Observer* speaks; that after this, the landlord and others laudably went, dashed in the door, took the parties in the state of Achilles as far as nakedness was necessary to their intentions; that they then dragged them to the watch-house, in that very same state: when our readers have heard all this, they will naturally cry aloud, "Why is the name of this Bishop suppressed?" It is a Bishop, the arti-

cle says. It is a "venerable prelate;" it is a Right Reverend Father in God; and why, then, is his name suppressed? The *Observer* informs us that another "worthy prelate" has been named; and unfortunately named; and the *Observer* requests its readers to reflect before they come to a positive determination as to who the party is. What, are all the Bishops, then, to live under this imputation or suspicion? Are all the Bishops to be suspected for the sake of this wretch, as the *Observer* itself justly calls him? This would be injustice towards the Bishops in general, equal to that which the most "respectable" and most infamous part of the press has been guilty of towards the public this day. We shall act no such part as this. We shall do our duty. And we here inform our readers: without anticipating the decisions of courts of justice; without pretending to know whether the alleged crime can be proved or not; without pretending to anticipate any thing of this sort, we inform our readers of that which they all ought to know, that the person, who was taken from the White-Lion public-house above-mentioned to the watch-house, and who was afterwards taken from the watch-house

to Marlborough-street, and who was held to bail as above-mentioned; we here inform our readers that that person who was so taken along with the soldier of the guards was the *Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God, PERCY JOCELYN, Lord Bishop of Clogher* (lately translated to that Bishopric from the Bishopric of Ferns), a *Commissioner of the Board of Education* ("education of the country!") and brother of the late *Earl of Roden*.

Having performed this duty, a duty due not less to the Bishops than to the public, we have further to observe, that a man was tried in Ireland, no great while ago, on the charge of having threatened this Bishop to accuse him of such a crime; and, our readers will hear with shudderings of horror, that this man was *condemned to death*, and, of course, upon the oath of this Bishop! We believe the man was respited and transported. Upon this we shall make no further observations for the present. Our readers will need no observations from us, indeed, to convince them how well things like this are calculated to excite the "envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world!"

To return to the article in the *Observer*, we are somewhat sur-

prised, if it be true, that Mr. DYER should have "*found himself obliged*," and so quickly, too, and without any remanding, to let the prisoner loose upon bail; and the public will not fail to observe, and to reflect a little upon the amount of this bail of a thousand pounds, in such a case, and relating to such a party. The public will recollect the bail, the sureties to which Mr. CARLILE is sentenced, and compare that case with this. A thousand pounds, not, probably, a tenth part of one year's produce of his Bishopric. The *Observer* may be in error about this. The fact has not been officially announced. If all the other facts stated by the *Observer* be true, what is the sum of a thousand pounds! How is that to hold such a person to stand trial! What sureties are there in a thousand pounds in such a case! Whether he ever take his trial or not; the THING will take its trial before the English people; and on that trial the Thing is now put.

The *Observer* tells us, that the *Soldier* was not so fortunate. *He could not get bail!* and was COMMITTED TO TAKE HIS TRIAL! Well said, THING! It was very hard that those who bailed the Bishop would not bail the soldier. The Bishop himself

might have been bail for him. His Bishopric of Clogher was sufficient surety for a whole battalion. Very hard, indeed, that he was not to be bailed too! But, there will be time enough to talk about this. The main thing is for us to keep a sharp look out, and to see how the THING; to see how the "Education of the country;" how the "envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the "world" will work this matter!

In the meanwhile, let us look at the conduct of the respectable and infamous part of the press of this day, just looking back in one instance to yesterday. Our readers will observe, that the article which we have quoted was in the *Observer* of yesterday, consequently the thing was known to the editors of all the *Morning* papers. If such a thing had taken place between two labourers, mechanics, or tradesmen, how it would have been blazoned about through the *Morning Papers* of this day! What a cry would have been set up by these "respectable" and infamous guardians of the public morals! But, now, what has been their conduct? The *Morning Post*, the *British Press*, the *Morning Herald* and the *Morning Advertiser* have given a part and a part only of what they found in

the *Observer*. The *Morning Herald* and the *British Press* gave nearly the words of the *Observer*; but insert the article in as obscure a manner as possible. The *Morning Post* curtails the article of the *Observer* to about a fifth part, and puts it at the bottom of a column, in a part of the paper likely to escape observation. The *Morning Advertiser* curtails the article still further. Bestows no expression of horror upon the deed, and merely says "that a person of "consideration and a soldier were "taken to the office charged with "a gross misdemeanor." We now come to the *Morning Chronicle* which fills four columns of its paper with Mr. HUME's nonsensical resolutions about the National Debt and the operations of the Sinking Fund; but which can spare only just seven lines put in the very obscurest part of all of the paper, to say that "two persons" (and not a word about a Bishop!) were discovered in a public house and so forth. But we will take the very words of the *Chronicle*. They will not fill up much space; and they will enable the public to judge of the real character of this paper.

"A Sunday Paper states that "on Friday night, two persons were "discovered at a public-house in "St. James's market, in a situa-

"tion which left no doubt respecting the nature of their crime, that they were taken to the watch-house, and brought to a Police-office on Saturday morning, when it appeared from papers in the pocket of the one, that he filled a high situation, which we will not name.—The Magistrate is said to have admitted them to bail."

"Two persons!" And the *Chronicle* could find out nothing but two persons; though it had read the *Observer* as well as we, and though it would not take us much to prove that the *Chronicle* must have heard all about the matter on Saturday night, seeing that an Evening paper in the neighbourhood had the intelligence actually composed and going to the press on Saturday afternoon, and had stopped the press to cancel the matter! From what motive this cancelling took place, let the indignant public judge. The *Chronicle*, had this been an affair between two persons in common life, would have rung such a peal upon the subject as would not soon have been forgotten; and let our readers judge how powerful must have been the motive that could have induced it, not only to abridge the article of the *Observer*, not only to tell less than it had read in the Sunday paper; not only to cram this important matter into seven lines and hide it at

the bottom of a column; not only this, but to talk of *two persons*; not to name a Bishop or a Soldier at all; and to be guilty of the infamous injustice of imputing by implication the crime indiscriminately to all classes of Englishmen!

Let us now come to the elect, of the respectable part of the press; the *John Bull*; the *New Times*; and the *OLD TIMES*. We have always told our readers that these were all of the same stamp; and now we shall see. *John Bull* is quite silent. *John* came out very late on Sunday morning. There was a rumour on float on Saturday, and we have already related, that an evening paper had actually got the matter set up; that is to say, the types composed for printing an account of the transaction, and that it was induced to stop the press, take out the article, scatter the types and put, in another article in its stead, probably an article from the Vice Society or from some Bible Society! What happened to *John Bull*, we do not know, precisely; but something seems to have seized *John* all at once early on Sunday morning or in the middle of the night before. For, we sent to get *John's* paper, on Sunday morning about ten

o'clock; and the vender of the paper informed us, that it would not come out till very late because *an accident had happened to the machinery* in the office. This was the story told to those who went to buy the paper! Yes, our readers will see that *John's* machinery had been operated upon by something perfectly accidental, and yet of a very potent nature.

Now come that brace of brothers the *New* and *Old Times*. *Perfectly silent both!* Not one single word upon the subject. Not a single allusion to it; though the *Old* one has actually this day put forth *two papers*, that is to say, two whole sheets, which it *sells for one*, in pursuance of those desperate efforts which it is making to sustain itself. It has two whole papers, measuring very nearly two feet square; containing sixteen square feet of print, one and a half square feet of which consists of an advertisement of the Irish Subscription; it contains all this space; and in the whole of this sixteen feet square of print, room was not to be found for the insertion of one single word about the Bishop and the Soldier! Not a single allusion. Nothing that could let its readers suppose that such a thing had taken place. The cause of this need not be

stated to our readers. They will all see the cause at once; and they will all despise the man that they shall in future see with one of these papers in his hand. We would here, if we had time, refer to the statement of Dr. O'MEARA, or, rather, to what the *Times* has said about the bribe of three thousand pounds, the evidence of which BUONAPARTE found amongst the papers of the run-away BOURBON. We must leave that to be noticed another time; and, in the meanwhile, request our readers to pay attention to the facts which we have now stated; to look at the conduct of all these papers; to contrast that conduct with that which they showed in the case of the Vere-street Gang; to compare their present conduct; their present silence, with the unsparing, and just and laudable abhorrence which they then expressed; we request our readers to make this comparison, at the same time that they make a comparison between the rank and riches of the party now offending, and the obscurity and comparative poverty of the parties then offending; we request them to do this, and we are sure they will exclaim with us, that this "respectable part of the press" is surely the most infamous thing that ever

existed in any country in the world.

We must quit the subject for the present; but not without assuring our readers, that, strong as Corruption is, great as are her powers of smothering and stifling, she will not have it in her power to stifle the truth in this case. We care not how the **THING** acts. Let the **THING** do what it pleases; and let the public watch it; never forgetting the sentences on JOSEPH SWANN, MR. CARLILE, his wife and sister. We have said before, and we repeat it, that the **THING** is now fairly on its trial. In former cases, there may have been doubts and difficulties in the way; there may have been that which blinded and deluded honest and well-meaning people; but here the matter lies in a nut-shell. Here the question is too plain to admit of being obscured and too monstrous to admit of palliation. The time cannot be distant when the decision shall take place; and in the mean time we beseech our readers to keep watch; to look sharp after the movements of the **THING**, and see what it will do. Thus we close our remarks for the present, leaving the public, to congratulate itself on the existence of one newspaper that cannot be *hushed* into silence.

We cannot dismiss this article without observing, that it is with great and unfeigned *sorrow* that we have to record this degradation of rank and dignity; but the way to uphold rank and dignity is not to be guilty of such base partiality as that which we have noticed; and the best way is to single out, as we have done, the guilty, and leave it to be supposed that it forms an exception to the mass.

Wednesday.

We requested our readers to watch the **THING**, and to see how it would work this matter. The *Old Times* remained *silent* yesterday again, and we have not seen the BOURBON Print to-day; that print which *justified the massacre of the Protestants at Nismes*, and which says, that when NAPOLEON talks of finding, in the runaway BOURBONS' papers, an account of the *three thousand pounds*, given to an English newspaper, he *must mean The Times*, and that all of us *must know* that it is a *lie*! We have not seen that crazy, sinking Old Thing to-day; but, yesterday and the day before it was *silent*, silent as the grave, the *cause* of which silence every man in London knows full well.

Just, however, as if this Old battered Print could, by its silence, smother the matter. This Print was not thus silent in 1810; nor was it silent on the score of that gallant Irishman, poor CASHMAN, the part it took with regard to whom no just man in England will ever forget. It is possible, indeed, that the *Old Times* may have been a little *bothered* just at this time by the *accident*, of which we gave (in the words of the *Morning Chronicle*) an account yesterday; namely, the *rencontre* between JOHN WALTER and Doctor O'MEARA; or, rather, between the Doctor's *horse-whip* and JOHN'S shoulders. HUDIBRAS gives an account of a man, a certain part of whose body was, from repeated kickings, become so skilful that it could distinguish the *sorts of leather* of which the shoe was made; and, by this time, perhaps, JOHN'S shoulders are able to tell, whether the salute came from a thong made of horse-hide or from the skin of that long-eared animal, so strongly typical of himself. If the Doctor should find his remedy ineffectual, and that a *second operation* is necessary, we would recommend a "*cow-skin*," as it is denominated in Virginia and the West Indies, which the Doctor will find the best of all in-

struments in such an inveterate case.

Since writing the above we have seen the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day, and also the *Old Times*, from which it appears, that it was not JOHN upon whom the Doctor operated; but, through mistake, it was upon a Mr. WILLIAM WALTER of Devonshire-place, who has no connexion with the *Old Times* newspaper, directly or indirectly. It has been unfortunate for this Gentleman that he bears the name of WALTER; but, the benefit of being able publicly to state, "that he has no connexion directly or indirectly with the *Old Times* newspaper," we deem to be so great as to be not too dearly purchased even by the Doctor's operation. If the thing be a mistake, as it certainly must be so considered, if this new statement be true, Mr. WILLIAM WALTER will not, we hope, push things to extremity with Doctor O'MEARA. Proceedings at *law* are announced by *authority*, in the *Morning Chronicle*. We would rather see the Gentleman, if he were a friend of our's, contented with an ample public apology on the part of Doctor O'MEARA, which we cannot suppose the latter at all disinclined to make, nor the former, if he be what he is represented to

He, at all disinclined to accept of. The blows inflicted, were not intended for him. There was, in fact, no offence against him; and though the honest indignation of the Doctor ought to have been tempered with more caution, we cannot help hoping that the offended party, when he has had time to cool, and to take all the circumstances into consideration, will consult his generosity, rather than his resentment, and, according to the old and good maxim, not take that ill which was not ill meant.

To return to our subject; to drop JOHN and return to the Bishop and the Soldier; the *Old Times* of to-day again is still *silent* upon the subject. The *New Times* of yesterday, conducted by WALTER's late associate, DOCTOR SRODBART, ascribes the Bishop's conduct to insanity! Well said, Old Boy! Well said, Old Doctors' Commons! But it did not occur to you, we suppose, that the insanity must have very recently taken place or (mind the or, Doctor,) that the Bishop must have been insane when he was raised from the See of *Ferns* to that of *Clogher*. Only think, Doctor, what a defender of the Church you are, when you disguise the name of the Bishop, and when you compel

us to conclude (if we believe you), that an insane person has been bestowing benefices; selecting Ministers of the Church; ordaining Deacons and Priests; laying on of hands at Confirmations, and doing all those things, which are committed with such awful solemnity to the hands of a Prelate of the Church.

It has been said in the *Morning Chronicle* and other newspapers, that the Bishop has *left the country*, notwithstanding the *bail* to the *immense amount of a thousand pounds*! It is said that *two tradesmen* are the sureties! These two tradesmen will hardly lose the five hundred pounds a-piece! Oh! this is a pretty thing altogether! And where is the *Soldier*? What is become of him? We were told that no bail could be got for him, and that he was committed to take his *trial*. To take his *trial*? To be sure, he is; and the *magistrate* must state his offence, too, of which, doubtless, Mr. *Derry*, the Magistrate, has taken care! However, *we shall see all about this*. *None* *errone*; that is to say, *we shall see*!

In the mean time, let us take another look, at the CONDUCT OF THE PRESS. We are well informed, that on *Monday night*, Sir WM. DE CRESPIGNY, in the

House of Commons spoke of this horrible affair, and said, that the public was very much indebted to the *Statesman Newspaper*. Now let that public look into all the Morning Papers of Tuesday; let that injured public look into those papers; and it will find this matter wholly suppressed; not a single word of it mentioned in any one of those papers, any more than if Sir WM. DE CRESSIGNY had never opened his lips! Is this dealing fairly with the public; is it dealing fairly by Sir WM. DE CRESSIGNY; is it dealing fairly by the House of Commons; is it dealing fairly by the rest of the Bishops; and is not this press a combination of men to get from the public, or from individuals, riches by the means of suppressing truth, or circulating falsehood, as best suits their purpose?

Only mind, the spirit of unanimity here! They were all of a mind. Could this have been except they had all been acted upon in the same sort of way. Here were two motives. The first precisely the same as that which had produced their previous silence; and the second, that of preventing the public from seeing their own baseness by keeping if possible the STATESMAN from its eyes. The public,

however, has in this case as in all other cases, when not deluded, been just. It has decided, that the STATESMAN has done its duty, and we desire nothing further than that commendation. We desire no praise; we have not performed our duty with pleasure, but really with a great deal of pain. We cannot but know how deep the affliction must be amongst numerous persons connected with the party; and, though those persons are, in all respects, utter strangers to us, it is impossible not to feel sorrow for their affliction. But, on the other hand, are we to have no regard for public justice; for the administration of that, without the just and impartial administration of which civil society is a disgrace to mankind and a curse to all those who live in it: are we to have no regard to this; and when we hear of a thousand pounds bail, in such a case, and appertaining to such a party, are we to block up our memories; are we to think nothing at all of the case of Mr. CARLILE; of his fines, his imprisonment, his sureties for life, are we to think nothing of his wife, sent to a dungeon with a child in her arms, in that dungeon delivered of another child; are we to think nothing of the imprisonment, the fine, the

saeties upon the sister: are we to think nothing of these, all imposed without even the imputation of moral offence, and only for impugning (we will say erroneously) a system of religion, one of the persons at the head of which, was this very Bishop! To hold our tongues in such a case would be infamous indeed; and would make us merit to be ruled, not with rods, but with scorpions.

Thursday.

THIS subject, in its most interesting point of view, that is to say, as it throws light on matters connected with the *administration of law and justice*; this subject, taken in this light, will be fully treated of in the *Register of next Saturday*. For essays at great length we have not room in our diurnal publication; but we have, we trust, done our duty towards the public in this case, and particularly by dragging forth the most "respectable" and most corrupt press in this world. We cannot, however, let another day pass without taking notice of what we find in that vile, old paper, *The Times* of this morning. We shall not, like Dr. O'MEARA, put *stars* instead of letters: we name the vile, old thing, and call upon the

public to witness its conduct.

In another part of our paper will be found (taken from the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day) a letter addressed to Mr. BUCHER, who, it appears, is now a Judge in Ireland. The letter has not a signature to it, but the *Chronicle* is undoubtedly well satisfied as to the facts contained in that letter. We beg our readers to peruse that letter with attention; to make, as every honest man will, the case of Mr. BYRNE their own; to consider of the sufferings of that man; to consider what is due to him and his family; and then to reflect, that if the press in Ireland had then done its duty, that which we have now had to record might never have existed.

But, how must the *Morning Chronicle* lament, then, that it did not hasten to do its duty on Monday morning! If this paper had acted the part which the *Morning Chronicle* acted, the name of the offender would not have been known unto this day; and, as we verily believe, *never would have been known at all*. The article which had appeared in the *Observer* of the Sunday named nobody. That article had appeared but in one paper. The *Morning papers*, that noticed the thing at all, had abridged, mutilated, and disguised

that article. Two of them, that brace of true brothers, the *Old Times* and the *New Times*, sank the thing *wholly* in silence. So that, during the Monday, operations would have been carried on effectually to prevent all exposure of the principal criminal, and on the Tuesday morning we should have seen, in every one of these Papers, articles asserting that some gross error had been committed with respect to a Right Reverend Prelate, originating in some casual misnomer, or in something or other that would have appeared plausible. And, on the Wednesday, we should have heard the same papers lamenting, with great sincerity, that one of their contemporaries, the proprietor of a Sunday paper, had been so unadvised and rash as to give heed to those reports, having not the smallest foundation in fact, respecting certain supposed misconduct of a most learned, venerable, and Right Reverend Prelate of the Church! Bless them! On the Thursday, that is to say, to-day, we should have heard them all open in full cry, just as if the game was in view; their voices different in tone, indeed; their manner of opening different; and different the loudness of their yell; but off they would have gone in

full and unanimous cry against the profligacy of those writers who administer to the brutal passions of the "*lower orders*," by circulating hints and insinuations tending to bring into hatred and contempt their natural protectors and guardians of the *higher orders*; tending to lessen in their esteem all those whom it is their bounden duty to venerate; tending, in short, to gratify their forward dispositions by inculcating disrespect in them towards all their betters, their pastors and masters; and thereby to produce in them a disregard of the laws of God as well as of a paternal Government; and to bring them at last into a state, in which their lives would be forfeited to the outraged ordinances of their country, and their souls turned over to the Devil.

This is what we should have had on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, if the STATESMAN had not done its duty on Monday. The *Old Times*, always the worst amongst the bad, kept quite silent during Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. It endured our thumping for these three days as quietly as a woolpack. It seems to have been wishing to rival, in this passive quality, a pair of shoulders not very distantly con-

nected with it. At last; but not before, it has announced that *the criminal has fled from justice*. But, let us hear the old thing, and then remark a little upon what it says for itself.

An exposure of monstrous depravity has taken place within these few days, all allusion to which we have hitherto suppressed. Mingled feelings of sorrow, humiliation, and disgust, have been in part the causes of our silence; and the respect we owe to public decency might still have induced us to persevere in our reserve, if we could have thereby checked the horrible tale in its progress to notoriety amongst all ages and both sexes, which we fear it has already attained to. The person accused of being the chief criminal—P. Jocelyn, Bishop of Clogher—has, it is affirmed, forfeited his bail, and quitted for ever the country which his presence had polluted. *Bail in such a case!* What sum could be named which the wretch would not have sacrificed? We know not whether to rejoice or grieve that he has fled from justice. We know not whether the trial of such a criminal for such a crime, might not have cost more in the way of corruption, than even his death by law could have paid in the way of satisfaction to good morals. It is dreadful to remember, that a poor and perhaps innocent man was sentenced to transportation from his country, on the oath of this *mitred reprobate*, for only threatening to charge him with that of which he now stands (by his flight) confessedly convicted. It is more dreadful to think how the church of God has been scandalized and disgraced.

Thus, as the public will see, the *Old Times* can speak, when

the bird has flown; which he might not have done if the Morning papers of Monday had done their duty. This Paper can now tell us that this is a *mitred reprobate*. It can tell us about the man that was punished on his account in Ireland. It knows, now, all about the matter, but it could say not a word about it until Thursday morning, though the principal facts were stated in the *Observer* of Sunday: and though it is perfectly notorious to every body in London that that paper is conducted in a manner not to leave the smallest doubt of the truth of those facts.

The old hack can now exclaim, too: "*bail in such a case!*" Yes, and you knew it on Sunday morning last as well as we did. If your pretended scrupulousness about *indecent* prevented you from narrating the facts; it could not prevent, for the public has now seen that the whole case can be communicated to it with perfect fidelity, and yet without a single hint to give offence to the most fastidious delicacy; this could not have prevented you from giving a faithful account of the transaction, quite sufficient to answer all the purposes of justice and fair dealing; but if, after all, you found yourself so stupid, so wholly des-

stitute of talent as not to be able to speak upon such a subject without being guilty of grossness too offensive to be endured by the public, did that prevent you from speaking of the *bail*? Hypocrisy may serve you elsewhere; but it cannot serve you here. There is nothing indelicate in the word *bail*! When you were speaking of the Vere-street Gang, who were comparatively poor devils, and poor devils are always your aversion; poverty is always sin enough of itself in your eyes; when you were speaking of the Vere-street Gang, you very justly, indeed, but most vehemently, and without the smallest delicacy in the world, gave narratives of the transactions; but if you be grown delicate all at once, and if that delicacy is of such a strange complexion that it blushes when you have to speak of the conduct of a Bishop, and is hardened as brass when you have to speak of what you call the seditious conduct of Mrs. CARLILE and her sister, for not tearing whom out of their houses you blamed the Government; if your delicacy be of this strange complexion, what had delicacy to do with the *bail*?—Now that the wretch has fled; now that your publications can do him no harm; now that he laughs at your

paragraphs; now you can exclaim "*bail in such a case!*" Now, that you have done all that you can do for him by your silence, now you have seen the cat jump away; and have too, seen which way public opinion jumps, and having, besides, felt, in your sale (where alone you have feeling) now you can begin to join in; and in a few days, we should not wonder to see you beginning some foul-mouthed attack upon those whom you will choose to deem guilty of suffering this escape. We beg the public to watch you, upon this occasion. You do not well know what to do, but your workings will be matter of great curiosity at any rate.

As to your concluding remark, about the disgrace brought upon the *Church of God*, it belongs to that species of blasphemous cant, for which you are so famous; but, it weighs not a feather in wiping off the disgrace of three days' silence with regard to such a transaction. The effect of this silence you have already felt, to our certain knowledge; and the further effects are to come.

If it be true that the Bishop; that the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Clogher is gone out of the kingdom never to return, as asserted in this

vile old paper, which appears to know a great deal more about the matter of going away than we do: if this be true, *what is to become of the Bishopric?* Is the Bishop still to receive the immense revenues of that Bishopric which have been stated at thirteen thousand pounds a-year, and which are probably much more? Is there to be no Bishop to supply his place? Is he to have a deputy? It would be deemed blasphemous to say that Bishops are of no use; it would be deemed revolutionary and treasonable. We must not, therefore, say that; and yet it would be hard to say what use a Bishop is to be of, if he can live out of the country all his lifetime.

We know not, however, of any law, by which a man may be unbishoped, or have his revenues taken from him. We do know, however, that a law *can be made* to do it, and for the honour of the country we do hope that the Parliament will not separate without taking this matter up. We are not to be told, that the Parliament cannot interfere in *legal proceedings already commenced*. We have a case; a case in point as to every thing but the nature of the Act. Scores of clergymen of the

Church of England were informed against for non-residence in 1799. Actions were brought against them agreeably to the 21st (we think it was) of Henry VIII. Now mind, here were legal proceedings against many Clergymen of the Church.—The law was clear. There was no quirk that could save them. There was no law existing that would admit of an interpretation in their favour. Then came (pull your hats off, readers!) then came *the Parliament* and passed a law to save them by quashing the informations against them; by putting an end to those legal proceedings, and suffering the spiritual persons to go free.

Now, if this could be done by Act of Parliament; if the Parliament could interfere, and in so effectual a manner here, to set aside one of the most important provisions in that code which gave the Church its property; if it could do this, can it not interfere *now*? Or are we to be told that it can never interfere with laws relative to the Church, except for the purpose of protecting those Members of that Church, who have been guilty of a breach of the laws? However, **WE SHALL SEE**; for, as we have said from the beginning, the **THING** is now upon its trial!

JOHN WALTER
AND DR. O'MEARA.

[From the same]—Thursday.

WE have heard that the MR. WILLIAM WALTER, whom the *Chronicle* said was so handsomely flogged by Dr. O'MEARA, is the brother of JOHN of the *Times*. The *Chronicle* told us, that it had authority to say, that this WILLIAM WALTER had nothing to do, either directly or indirectly with the *Old Times* newspaper. If this be true, we are sorry that he got the flogging, for two reasons, first, because he did not deserve it; and second, because, in all human probability, he will have kept it from the back of the man that deserved it. The *Old Times* of yesterday tells us that JOHN is 40 miles from London; but it is careful not to name the place! We dare say that if he be near the turnpike-road, he keeps a sharp look out! With a little alteration, JOHN may now say with MACBETH: "How is it
"with me, when the crack of
"every coachman and carter's
"whip alarms me!"—It was a little too impudent in the *Times*,

we must confess, to call the Doctor a liar, when it acknowledged, itself, that *no other paper could have been meant*, when a Bourbon bribe of three thousand pounds was talked of. But how the Doctor came to know that JOHN had any thing to do with the matter seems strange to us, seeing that we believe that the name of *two women* are down at the Stamp-office as principal proprietors of the paper. This was the case, we know, only 18 months back, and we see no reason to suppose that it is not the case now. Why then, should the Doctor fall upon poor JOHN? If we were in JOHN's place, and had JOHN's feelings about us, we would not stay banished, as it were, forty miles from London. Men may say what they will in the way of ridiculing *petticoat government*. JOHN finds it a very good thing, we dare say; for it gives that which many other Governments take care not to give, and do not seem to be made for at all; namely, *shelter*! And, if we were JOHN WALTER, we would not give it out that we were forty miles from London and sink the name of the place; we would actually and literally take shelter under the *petticoats*, and let the Doctor flog away if he dared, the cowardly dog!

LETTERS

OF

MR. COBBETT

*To the Committee of the Dinner
to be given to Mr. Wooley at
Birmingham.*

Kensington, 20 July 1822.

GENTLEMEN,

I RECEIVED ON Thursday, your obliging invitation to the Dinner above-mentioned. I had, without any invitation, signified in the last *Register*, my intention to attend. Your invitation was followed, yesterday, by a most obliging offer, on the part of one of you, of lodging and other accommodations at Birmingham. But notwithstanding these additional inducements, and though I had notified, in a part of the *Register*, printed off early yesterday, my thankful acceptance of the honour you had done me, I found, from intelligence received by yesterday's post, that it would be impossible for me to attend on the 29th, without such inconvenience as I could not have put myself to without ascribing to my presence at the Dinner a degree of importance that it did not deserve. I regret this on my own account; for I should have had singular pleasure in being,

on such an occasion, amongst the industrious, ingenious and public-spirited artisans and mechanics of Birmingham, who have done themselves as much honour by their alacrity to show their unshaken attachment to Mr. Wooley

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Kensington, July 22, 1822.

GENTLEMEN,

TO-DAY I have a letter from you, informing me, that you had (before the arrival of my last *Register*) placarded the walls with a notice that I should attend at the Dinner to be given to Mr. Wooley; that my non-attendance would occasion great disappointment; that many persons have taken Tickets, as you believe, with the impression that they should meet me; that the effervescence of expectation is so great, that you fear disadvantageous consequences from the disappointment; and that, if I do not attend, the Committee will be exposed to blame for having, in the placards, asserted, in so positive a manner, that I should attend.

As to the motives of the Committee, I, of course, can know nothing of them; but, while I

should greatly lament disappointing any of the worthy people of Birmingham, you will, I am sure, do me the justice to say, that the placarding was done without my consent or knowledge, and that you never possessed any notification from me of my intention to attend on the 29th.

I heard of the Dinner at first by accident; I then sent to Mr. Wheeler's office to ascertain the day; I was informed that it was the 26th; I received no invitation till *last Thursday*, four days after my notification had reached Birmingham. It was, however, still my intention to attend, but, a letter by Friday's post informed me that I could not do this on the 29th, without extreme inconvenience; and, thereupon I gave up the design, my mortification at doing which being considerably diminished by perceiving, that, in your public advertisement and hand-bill, you had, in naming the persons invited, confined yourselves to "*Thomas Northmore, Esq. Major Cartwright, and the Rev. Henry Cresswell.*" This, at once, relieved me from all anxiety on the score of causing any of that disappointment which you appear to anticipate, and which I hope

you very much overrate, seeing that it would give me great pain to be, though blamelessly, the cause of disappointing any one single man of the public-spirited labouring classes of Birmingham, whose friendship is so highly valued by me.

Nevertheless, the notification of my intention to attend having been placarded, though without any knowledge of mine, and it being my most anxious desire to prevent whatever inconvenience may be likely to arise from the disappointment, which you (groundlessly I hope) appear to apprehend, I shall, by to-morrow's coach, send to you copies of this letter, which, in justice to me as well as to the public, I trust you will be so good as to cause to be posted up in the same way as the notification was posted.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and
Most humble Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

BREWING.

A new edition of *Cottage Economy* is in the press, and it will contain an account of the manner of making Beer by means *other* than those of the *Brewing Machine*.—This edition will be out in ten day's time.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

[Vol. 43.—No. 5.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 3, 1832. [Price 6d.]

Published every Saturday Morning, at Six o'Clock.

TO MR. PEEL,

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE
HOME DEPARTMENT.

*On the Bail and other Matters,
appertaining to the affair of
the Bishop and the Soldier.*

Justice, when equal scales she holds, is blind;
Nor cruelty nor mercy move her mind.
When some escape for that which others die,
Mercy to those to these is cruelty.

DENHAM.

Kensington, 1 August 1832.

SIR,

SEE the disagreeable consequences of *endeavours to smother*, on the part of the "respectable" press I mean; for I have, as yet, no positive proof of such endeavours made by any body else. — See the disagreeable consequences! If the horrid affair in question had been communicated to the public in the *usual way*; and especially if the parties accused had, in the *usual way*, in

the way of 1810, been committed for trial, the public, with no feeling but that of sorrow that so abominable a thing had been imputed to two of their fellow subjects, would have waited for that trial in the hope that the imputation would prove unfounded. But the manifest, the almost monstrous endeavours of the "respectable" and infamous press to *side the whole thing*, have filled, as they ought to fill, the whole nation with *suspensions*, which it will not be easy to remove.

The *bail*, taken in this case, has been, and long will be, a subject of great interest throughout the nation; because here the *government*, through one of its inferior agents, is the actor. I am no lawyer, and, therefore, I do not pretend to say, that it was absolutely *unlawful* in Mr. DYER to take bail, and to set the Bishop *at large*. Nor do I say, that it was an unlawful act to take *such bail* as was taken. But, I do say, that I was astonished when I

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heard of any bail at all being taken in such a case; and that I was equally astonished at the amount of the bail; the reasons for which astonishment I am now about to state; for addressing which statement to you your Office is, I think, quite sufficient ground.

As to the first, the admitting of the Bishop to bail at all, I was astonished, because I had never heard of such a thing before. I had never heard of such a thing in the case of the *Vere-street* gang; nor did it ever enter into my mind, that the offence, especially when both the parties were of the age of discretion, was bailable according to law, though the act might stop somewhat short of absolute completion, it being, besides, very difficult to affix degrees of guilt in such a case.

Nor has the "Doctor" of the *New Times*, in his "loyal" paper of the 30th of July, succeeded in convincing me, that I was in error in my notions as to this matter of bail in such cases. The Doctor is a great railer against "disloyal" people; and he works hard upon this occasion (for what reason we are left to guess) to make us quite satisfied, that Mr. Dyer was compelled to take the bail, and let the Right Reverend Father in God go at large. We will, if you please,

Sir, leave the Doctor, before we proceed any further. He does not name the party after all; but he says that the law has done hitherto all that it can do. His words are these: "*More* the law does not permit; for, black as is the moral turpitude of the conduct deposed to, it still amounts only to a bailable offence; and we all know, that both by the Common Law, and by the *Habeas Corpus* Act, it is deemed a violation of the liberty of the subject, in any Magistrate, to refuse or delay to bail a person bailable. In the present instance, the wealthier individual found bail immediately: and if the other should tender bail at any time before the Sessions, it must be accepted. The Magistrate demanded much more than ordinary, though we fear much less than effectual bail; but it must be remembered that the *Bill of Rights* strictly forbids the taking of excessive bail. It is to be regretted that a villain should ever shelter himself under the protection of such salutary enactments; but they are too closely interwoven with our liberties to admit a doubt of their general utility, even though in a particular instance they may operate to produce a defeazance

"of that *entire and exemplary justice* which the case demands."

One can hardly help bursting out upon the Old Doctor here and calling him a hypocritical vagabond. This is a pretty fellow, indeed, to cry up the excellence of the Act of Habeas Corpus! a pretty fellow to discover, now that a Bishop is caught, such a tenderness for the "*liberty of the subject!*" A pretty fellow to discover that a Magistrate violates this liberty when he refuses to take bail or when he delays taking it. This old hack justified the delay in taking bail in the innumerable instances, in which such delay took place in the case of the Reformers. The old hack knows well, that; in scores of instances bail was delayed on the alleged ground of want of time to ascertain the *sufficiency* of the bail. We cannot help laughing, however, at the idea of the Magistrate having had the *Bill of Rights* in view, and that he therefore avoided demanding "*excessive bail,*" and, we must admire the hint of the old Doctors' Commons, that if the Soldier (the Bishop's partner) "*should now tender bail, it must be accepted!*" This is a good hint of old Doctors' Commons; and thus the law-officers would have nothing but *names* to try; the

parties having given their friends what is called *leg bail*. The Doctor's conclusion, namely, that this bail work has arisen from institutions, "*closely interwoven with our liberties,*" wanted a rounding, namely, "*envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world,*" which I am sorry to perceive is rather going out of fashion, not having been used but once, as far as I have perceived, during the last Session of Parliament, and only four times on the two last Circuits. It is a pity it should go out of use; for it has caused more laughter than any one thing within my recollection, not excepting the unanimity in the passing of your famous Bill about Bullion and Paper-money.

But, now, let us look a little at the doctrine, or, rather, the law, of old Doctors' Commons. It is my opinion, that Mr. DYER was not *compelled* to take bail at all. I am sure that he was not compelled to take it without delay. I am sure he was not compelled to take it the moment it was tendered. I am sure that the law authorises the Magistrate to hold in custody for *forty-eight hours*, which he is to take, if he pleases, as time necessary for him to inquire into the sufficiency of the bail; or, if this be not the law,

what will you say to the following Anecdote. A man was taken up at Woolwich for sticking up a placard, exposing the baseness of the Morning Post in asserting that the Queen, whether guilty or innocent, ought to be sacrificed to what it called the public good. A man was taken up for posting up this placard against the house of a Baker who gave him leave to post it up upon his house. He was taken before a Magistrate, who was also a *Parson*. Bail was tendered; and that bail delayed for forty-eight hours, on the ground of *notice of bail* being necessary. Before the forty-eight hours had expired the man was sent to Maidstone Gaol, where the Quarter Sessions were just coming on. A Gentleman went down from London, the Baker went from Woolwich, and the man was expected to be tried; but, behold, no Bill of Indictment was presented against the man, who was then turned out of goal to find his way back to his home as he could. And this, Sir, is in this same country, where old Doctors' Commons would have us believe, that Mr. DYER dared not *delay* to bail the Bishop! This Law of ours is a curious thing, indeed, if Mr. DYER could not delay in the case of the Bishop; and if the Magis-

trate at Woolwich could delay in the case of the man who was guilty of the enormous offence of posting up a paper, reprobating the idea of sacrificing an innocent Queen for what was called the public good. The public will not fail to draw the proper conclusion from facts like these; and therefore, I shall now come a little closer to old Doctors' Commons, and state the grounds of my opinion with respect to this not being a bailable offence.

Blackstone, in the fifteenth Chapter of his fourth Book, in speaking of this crime against Nature, says, as to the crime itself, "that the voice of Nature and of Reason, and express Law of God, determine it to be capital." He says, that our ancient law, in some degree imitated the vengeance of God on the two offending cities of old, "by commanding such miscreants to be *burned to death*, though Fleta says they should be *buried alive*: either of which punishments was indifferently used for this crime amongst the ancient Goths; but now, the general punishment of all felonies is the same, namely, *by hanging*." And here Blackstone adds something of great importance in the present case. "And the rule of law herein is,

"that, if both are arrived at the years of discretion, *agentes et consentientes, pari poena plecantur.*" Which Latin words I dare say Dr. Coppleston taught you to interpret, "both acting and consenting and agreeing in the act, shall receive the same punishment."

So much for the nature of the offence and the legal equality of the crime. Now then, as to the bail. It is clear, that no person can be bailed for a capital felony. Blackstone says, (Book 4, Ch. 22)

"Where imprisonment is only for safe custody before the conviction, bail is ousted or taken away, if the offence be of a very enormous nature; for then the public is entitled to demand nothing less than the highest security that can be given; that is to say, the body of the accused, in order to insure that justice shall be done upon him if guilty. Such persons have no other sureties than the four walls of the prison." This would appear to be quite enough; for is it not manifest upon the face of it, that scarcely any sum of money would be a surety in a case like this. But, if we were to admit that there could be any mitigation; any room, for misinterpretation of this general doctrine,

Blackstone in the same Book and Chapter, enumerates the cases in which bail cannot legally be taken; and amongst these, he has this, "persons taken with the manour, or in the fact of felony." By referring to another part of Blackstone, we find that the old word *manour*, means *mainoeuvre*; which means, in plain English, a handling, or having hold, of the thing stolen, or being about to be stolen. That relates to the case of theft. The other part of the rule relates to all felonies, and particularly to a felony of the description which we now have before us. "In the fact of felony," are the words. Now, Sir, what was the case here? In what situation were the parties seen by the witnesses? You have read the description of it. In what situation were they taken to the Watch-house? You have read the description of the situation of their garments, when they were assailed and beaten by the people. If these descriptions be true; if any thing like what these descriptions give us were true, did not the act of the parties and the manner of their detection fully amount to the description of the thing here given by Blackstone, being one of the cases in which, according to him, bail is clearly

not admissible? If this case do not present to us that which Blackstone describes as one of the cases in which bail is not to be taken, I defy any man living to imagine any thing which comes up to the words, "*in the fact of felony.*"

Bail, in cases of enormous crimes, is taken only when there are doubts, and great doubts, too, of the truth of the charge; and were there any such doubts here? A commitment is merely for *safe custody*, and not for punishment. "Where bail," says Blackstone, "will answer the same intention," it is right to be taken; but in felonies, and other offences of a capital nature, no bail can be a security equivalent to the actual custody of the person. For what is there that a man may not be induced to forfeit to save his own life? It appears to me that there is no view which we can take of this matter; that there is no rule or interpretation of law, to justify the taking of bail in this case; and, does not this agree with the whole of the practice of the Justices of the Peace and of the Courts; I speak merely as giving my opinion and belief upon this point; but I am quite sure that I never heard of persons being admitted to bail who were charged, on oath, with an offence

like this; and if I rightly understand the law that I have read, and to which I have here expressly referred, my opinion that bail ought not to have been taken at all, and which opinion is conformable to that of millions, I believe, will stand unshaken by the doctrine now put forth with such ostentation by the New Times and other base and mercenary papers.

As to the amount of the bail, it is very true that the law says that excessive bail shall not be demanded; but it is equally true, that the law says, that, "If the Magistrate take insufficient bail, he is liable to be fined if the criminal do not appear." Blackstone states this in the 22d chapter of his fourth Book. Coke, in his Institutes; Hawkins, in his Pleas of the Crown; divers Acts of Parliament, say, that *insufficient sureties, are no sureties at all*; and that, to take slender bail, is a crime in the Magistrate. Hawkins says, that the bail should be proportioned to the *ability* and *quality* of the prisoner, and to the *nature of the offence*. Who have we here, then? Nothing less than a man with a revenue of from ten to fifteen thousand pounds a-year; the son of an Earl, the brother of an Earl; and the uncle of an Earl; and the nature of the of-

sense is such, and so enormous, that the law itself almost blushes to describe it. And here we have him bailed for five hundred pounds; and that too, within, I believe, six hours of the time that he was brought before the Magistrate.

Allowing Mr. Dyer to have had the *Bill of Rights* fall in his eye; allowing that a sense of duty and of his oath would not suffer him to demand more than five hundred pounds, in a case like this, and from a Bishop, what are we to call the bail that is demanded and enforced in other cases? This, Sir, is the most important point to view the matter in. It is here that the thing most closely touches us. If Mr. Dyer could not go beyond five hundred pounds; if this was not insufficient bail; if this was not what the law calls slender bail; if this was what ought to have been; if this was justice; what shall we say of the bail demanded and enforced upon Mr. Johnson, Mr. Bamfield, Mr. Moorhouse, and others, after the affair of Manchester, of August 1818. In the memorable year 1819, which at once witnessed the affair of Manchester and the passing of your bill? If this was justice in the case of the Bishop, what was that

which demanded eighty pounds bail in case of the man mentioned above who was committed to Meidstone Gaol? What was that which kept Joseph Swann in prison for want of a hundred pound bail, which kept him in prison three months, previous to his four years and a half of imprisonment, for being present at a Reform Meeting, and for selling pamphlets, alleged to be hostile to the religion of which this Bishop was one of the principal teachers? Law and Justice might have their way in the case of the Bishop; but if they had, have they their way also in the case of those numerous persons, who have been kept in prison for want of bail under the charge of libel? We live in an age very unfortunate for this sudden outcry against "excessive bail." This outcry comes at an unfortunate time, and is applied to a most unfortunate case. After the public had witnessed the bail demanded of Mr. Carlile; bail for life, in a greater sum, I believe, than that of the Bishop. After the public had witnessed the bail in the case of his sister. After they had seen his wife sent to a dungeon with a baby in her arms. After they had read of the birth of a child in that dungeon. After

they had read, in his pamphlet of the first of March last, that plain, that simple, and that most dreadfully affecting narrative, of the treatment of these two women in Dorchester Gaol; after the public had read this, which you, Sir, ought to have read long enough ago: After all this, how is the public to restrain its indignation; what feeling but one is it to have, when it hears the caitiffs of the hireling press bawling out for the *liberty of the subject* and the *Bill of Rights*!

I have before stated my own case often enough; but when we see men ready to plead the *Bill of Rights* and to express extreme tenderness for the *liberty of the subject* on the score of bail; and when I see a Bishop, and a Bishop of Noble family, too, and accused of an offence like this upon the oaths of seven witnesses; when I see a man like this let loose, without hesitation, upon bail of five hundred pounds, I cannot but again and again remind the public, that, for having expressed my indignation at seeing English local militia-men, in the heart of England, flogged under a guard of German bayonets, I was sentenced to a felon's gaol for two years; that I rescued

by paying *twelve hundred and forty-eight pounds for lodgings alone*; that, at the end of the time I paid a *thousand pounds sterling to the King*; and that, I was, then, to remain in prison for ever, unless I entered into bail in the amount of *three thousand pounds* myself, with two sureties in bond of a *thousand pounds* each!

It would be libellous, I suppose; it would be a libel, I dare say, on the late Ellenborough and his three associates, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; it would doubtless be a criminal libel on the memory of the three former, and on the character of the latter; it would be a heinous offence, I suppose, if I were to say that that was "*excessive bail*." It would be a libel, to say that those venerable Judges were guilty of a violation of the "*Bill of Rights*;" that bail, therefore, was *not excessive*. We are to say that that was all right, though I had no bishopric of from 10 to 15 thousand a-year; though I had no income but what arose from my daily labour; though I had nothing but my daily exertions and my possible continuation of life and of health to hold out as the foundation of a hope of preservation from actual want of a wife and

six children; from fourteen to three years of age. This was all right. This was no violation of the principles of that happy constitution, which is the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world. But, Sir, if this was all right, is it also all right, where the Bishop is let loose, and for an offence like this, too, upon bail of *five hundred pounds*!

Leaving this question for you to answer at your leisure; and, without undertaking to say whether Mr. DYER did right or did wrong; whether the bail was *slender* or stout; whether it was, in law, insufficient or sufficient, it appears that, in fact, it was not sufficient to keep the Bishop in England, notwithstanding the doctrines laid down by lawyers, and notwithstanding the language of the law which calls those persons sureties which give bail for other persons. The Bishop is said to be gone. But, Sir, is there no getting him back? We have an Alien Law. The *Holy Alliance* have all of them Alien Laws. Our Holy friends would certainly assist us in a case like this. The Bishop must have had a *passport*? We know that passports are got now and then in a queer sort of way, as in the case of the man that went to Italy from the fortress

in Cotton Garden! But the Bishop must have had a passport from somebody or other; how easy to trace him, then! Our Police Officers have frequently gone into the territory of our friends the Bourbons and the Orange Bovens, and brought back very obscure individuals. The public is, I assure you, Sir, very watchful, just at this time; it knows what can be done in this way. It knows what has been done; and it is now waiting to see what *will* be done. In short, it will never be made to believe, that it is not as easy to get back the Bishop, as it was, the other day, to get back a swindler. We shall see, then, when the trial comes on, whether the parties will be present or not; and then, and not till then, we shall be able fully to judge as to the sufficiency or insufficiency of the bail.

In the meanwhile let us turn to the Bishop's *partner*. This is said to be a *Private Soldier in the Foot Guards*. Some time ago Lord Palmerston said in the House of Commons that Barracks were necessary in order to keep the Soldiers distinct from *mixing with the people*! I will abstain from the corollary which this observation of his Lordship would suggest. But, let me observe; that if

three hundred pounds was sufficient for the Bishop, and if Hawkins' Law be good, that the amount of the bail is to be in proportion to the ability and quality of the prisoner, and if the hint of old Doctors' Commons be acted upon, the partner may be at large in a few hours, for I will engage, he has in his pocket more money than would make up the sum required in proportion to the bail demanded of the Bishop. Old Doctors' Commons says, that, if bail be tendered now, it must be taken! Oh Lord, yes! The *Bill of Rights* demands it! The *liberty of the subject*; the precious *liberty of the subject*; that delightful *liberty* which makes the printer of a newspaper give bail to the amount of three hundred pounds, with two sureties, bound for a hundred and fifty pounds each; that delightful *liberty of the subject*, which makes the printer do this, not only before he is charged with any offence, but even before he begins to print; this sweet *liberty of the subject*, this "mean-
tain nymph, sweet *liberty*," of whom we are so enamoured, and who will dwell no where but in these blessed Isles; this precious *liberty of the subject*, will, old Doctors' Commons tells us, insist upon Mr. Drea's taking bail for

the Bishop's partner, if bail be tendered, even now! I should suppose that old Doctors' Commons has not given this hint, this very broad hint, without motive, and I should be disposed to think, that he had not given it without an instigator. Be this as it may, it signifies very little as to the main point, whether the hint be adopted or not. The examinations are down in black and white; the witnesses are alive, and the Sessions approach. It signifies not a straw whether the partner be present or not; though, in case of his absence, it will occur to every one, that he will have even better luck than the Bishop; for, if out of prison, he is in his regiment and company, and it will be wonderful, indeed, if he be not forthcoming on the day of trial! The public have their eye upon this too; so that, it is impossible for anything to take place that shall produce any other than a satisfactory result. He will hardly be discharged from the army! Oh, no. It will all be right. It will all be as it ought to be.

Before I conclude, let me call your attention to a publication put forth by the company of traders to whom the Old Times newspaper belongs. The publication to which I allude, puts some words

into the mouth of Mr. Dyer, as having been uttered at his Police Office in Marlborough-street, on Monday last. Mr. Alley, a lawyer, had, it appears, taken occasion to ask the Magistrate and his people, in this public manner, whether he had been one of the bail for the Bishop. This he did in consequence of its having been insinuated, he said, that he had been one of the bail. Mr. Dyer declared, it appears, that Mr. Alley was not one of the bail; and then follows in the *Old Times* aforesaid the following passage, well worthy, I think, of your attention:—"The Magistrate said, what had been stated in the paper was certainly false, and whoever had written it must have been actuated by malice, which could be attributed to no other cause than the general desire of certain parties to overthrow the established authorities of the country, and they no doubt held hold of this lamentable transaction as a device by which they might, were it possible, effect their wish. At all times the conduct of Mr. Alley had been upright and respectable. Before this subject was disposed of, he must observe, that he was bound to take bail, the offence only being a *wise-*

meander, and that it was contrary to all rule to give up the names of the bail.—Mr. Alley returned the Magistrate thanks, and said bail was certainly obliged to be taken, as, if not, the Magistrate was subject to action for false imprisonment. —Mr. Wingfield, who was solicitor for the Bishop of Clogher, said nothing could be fairer than the learned counsel's conduct, and the remarks contained in the paper in his opinion were most unjustifiable. Several gentlemen also expressed themselves in the same terms; one of them termed Cobbe's a "wholesale dealer in lies."—We think it necessary for the information of our readers to state, that the persons now standing in the situation of bail for the Bishop of Clogher are *not* attorneys, or in any way connected with the law, but both are *exercising mechanical trades*."

I have already shown my reasons for disagreeing with Mr. Dyer and Mr. Alley about the obligation to take bail at all in this case; and have shown, I think, sufficiently, how this bail differs in amount from the bail insisted upon in other cases. I will here just add, that it is curious enough, that the new and severe

doctrine about bail was not long ago conjured up, and that too by a *parson*. I should really like to know whether the Bishop were a Magistrate. This would make the thing complete. He is down in the *Red Book* as a *Commissioner of the Board of Education*; and I really wonder that he did not bring himself off by saying that he was giving the Soldier a lesson! Considering the parson and magistrate are now so often united in the same person, and especially in Ireland, it would be almost a wonder if he were not a magistrate; or, rather, if he be not; for he is, as yet, all that he was. To return, however, the new interpretation of the law of bail; that is to say, of the severity of it, we owe to the church, amongst other things that we owe it. It was Parson Hay that first demanded bail on a charge of libel. The legality of this was questioned; as well it might after the solemn decision in the case of Wilkes; but, when Six-Acts came to be passed, it was declared to be law to hold men to bail on a charge of libel *previous to conviction*. So that if any man goes and swears before a Magistrate, that another has written, printed or published, a thing that that Magistrate may *think to be a libel*, that

Magistrate has the power to hold the accused party to bail until the trial, not only to answer the charge, but to *keep the peace and be of good behaviour in the mean time*; and, though the man may be acquitted of the libel; though the Grand Jury may throw out the Bill, still, if the bounden party have broken the peace, in the mean time, or has been guilty of any other sort of bad behaviour, he forfeits the recognisances, taken from him in a case where he had committed no offence at all! These are the laws of bail that we live under; and yet there are men who have the press in their hands, and who live immediately under these laws, who have had the baseness, the inexpressible baseness, to endeavour to smother up this affair of the Bishop and the Soldier.

I have said enough upon Mr. DYER's and Mr. Alley's doctrine about bail; but I have now to notice this publication of the Trading Company, as it relates to the motives imputed to those, who prevented this affair from being smothered up by the press. I do not impute these words to Mr. DYER, because, I find them in a paper which *only* says that which answers its own purposes. But, see, Sir, what words this

paper puts into the mouth of one of your Police Magistrates. Here is a Bishop of the Church of England, detected with a Private Soldier of the Foot Guards; here is a paper, making an exposure of the thing. Here is a paper, preventing the thing from being smothered up; and here is this beastly and vile old rotten Times Newspaper telling the public, that Mr. DYER, one of your Magistrates, who receives a salary from the Government, for carrying on Justice of Peace work; here is the Times Newspaper telling the public that this Magistrate said, that the writer in question "must have been actuated by malice; which could be attributed to no other cause than the general desire of certain parties to overthrow the established authorities of the country, and that, no doubt, they laid hold of this lamentable transaction as a handle by which they might, were it possible, effect their wish."—I pass over the mutual, and, I dare say, merited compliments of Messrs. Dyer and Alley; but, this accusation of wanting to overturn the *established authorities*, I really cannot brook with any degree of patience. I do not know that Mr. Dyer made the accusation; I must therefore as-

cribe it merely to his friend the Old Times, and is it not, Sir, most shockingly foolish? Is it not childish beyond compare? To have made it complete it should have come from the mouth of the Bishop himself, he belonging to a body, which have been ringing this charge in our ears for the full third part of a century. Let any enormity take place, no matter what. Let Mary Anne Clarke figure away; let Majocchi, Sacchini, and Demont, be produced from Cotton Garden. Let the press comment upon the transaction, and out bolts the charge, that we make it a *handle* to overthrow the constituted authorities of the country! Thus, to speak of the Bishop and the Soldier, is to endeavour to overthrow the established authorities of the country. Nothing is said about the overthrowing these established authorities by the hands of those who give importance to Mrs. Clarkes, to Italian witnesses, and who are the actors in exploits like that of the Bishop; all these are loyal people. They are no malcontents. They do not wish to overthrow the established authorities of the country. Oh dear no! It is not the poor murderer that is to blame; it is they that detect him, expose him, and would,

malicious dogs, bring him to the gallows; if they could!

This whining accusation is, however, become threadbare. It is fairly worn out. By dint of steady perseverance I have taught this whole nation (with the help of your Bill) that, when a man cries out against attempts to overthrow the established authorities of the country, he means to say, that attempts are making to disturb him in the quiet enjoyment of what he derives from those established authorities. It is the old hacknied charge that did very well when wheat was fifteen shillings a bushel; when the Farmers of Northamptonshire rode hundred pound hunters, and dressed themselves in scarlet coats and jockey caps, and when the Banker Attorneys had their bales of paper-money about; this cry about the established authorities did very well then; but, thanks to your immortal Bill, this cry now sounds like the ten times told tale of an idiot: the game is gone; and the cry has become ridiculous.

Let me now, Sir, in conclusion, express my surprise, that no Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Bishop has been brought into Parliament. I have, in another

part of this Register, noticed the difference in the conduct of certain parties in this case and in that of the unfortunate and injured Queen; but I must here again observe, how natural, how plain, how short the case and the proceedings in the case of the Bishop. In the case of the Queen, the witnesses had to be hunted up; *rumour was the foundation*; then a *Commissioner* was sent to Milan to collect evidence. Then the witnesses had to be brought at an enormous expense; and that pretty concern of Cotton Garden had to be resorted to, and a guard on the water as well as by land to take care of the fortress. The House of Lords had to sit nearly all the summer; and though it brought in the Bill, it finally threw it out!

In the case before us, a shilling fee gets the examinations before Mr. DYER. The witnesses are all living in the parish of St. James most likely, and one evening's trial in the House of Lords settles the business. This would have been the right way, Sir, take my word for it. It will not be done half so well in any other way, and in this way the Government would have *gained*, disgraceful as was the crime that it would have had to punish. This

would have been much better than these proceedings, the intention to enter upon which is announced, to us, by old Doctor Commons. As the thing is, it must be seen by every one, and every person belonging to the Government must feel, that it is a heavy blow. The blow might have been parried; but, to do this, the villainous press, in the first place, has gone precisely the wrong way to work. To attempt to make it was to make the thing ten thousand times worse than it naturally was as far as regarded that which this foolish fellow (of the Old Times newspaper I mean) calls the established authorities of the country. If I had been in your place, I would have lost no time; not even a single hour, in convincing the public that I disapproved of the attempts of these infamous newspapers. The bolder they are the more necessary this was; for public suspicion was sure to be uncommonly active. Therefore, no time should have been lost; and, of this opinion you will be, I am certain, before this affair is over. The New Times does, indeed, inform the public, that you heard nothing of the abominable transaction until after the chief criminal had been admitted to bail. Old Doctors

Commons has not said here what he means. He has said that "the matter came to the knowledge of the Home Department, not after the chief criminal had been admitted to bail." But he clearly does not mean this. Between now, and after he has left out the word, *till*; which makes all the difference. Yet to show you how active the public mind is, I have heard several persons remark upon this, and express their opinion that it is *no mistake at all*, and consequently that the knowledge reached your department before the bail had been taken. Most sincerely, do I say, that I should be extremely sorry to find this opinion to be well-founded. I take the contrary to be the meaning of old Doctors' Commons, and also to be the fact. Yet it would appear somewhat strange, that the affair should have happened on Friday evening, at dusk; that the people should have pelted and pummelled a Bishop at that time in the evening; that a Bishop should be in a Watch-house dungeon all Friday night; that he, and a private soldier along with him, should be taken to one of the Police Offices on the Saturday; that St. James's parish should be all in a hubbub; that the examination of seven witnesses should be going on for some

hours, and that, all this while, though the party was related to several families of the "*Higher Orders*," not a word of the matter through the Police Officers, through the Police Magistrates, or through any body else, should have reached *your Office* at Whitehall, which is not, I believe, more than *seven hundred yards* from the spot where all the hubbub had commenced! This would seem *wondrous strange*; but, it is *possible*, and I most sincerely hope it is true. We have it, indeed, from very bad authority, that of old Doctors' Commons, but nevertheless it is *possible*! Time must unfold all.

Mr. Dyer is made to say, that it is *contrary to all rule* to give up the names of bail. Indeed! I did not know that there was any *giving up* in the matter. But, this I know, that the *names* of the bail in all the cases, relating to what is called "*Sedition and Blasphemy*," were not only *given up* to public view, but, by the infamous press, sent about with the *vilest insinuations* against the persons becoming bail! This I know well, and this the public knows; and, therefore, a *contrast* now presents itself worthy of *particular attention*!

Mr. Wingfield (the Times says)

came forth as the *Attorney* of the Right Reverend *Father in God*. Now, as we are not, it would seem, to have the *names* of the bail, will Mr. Wingfield, the Attorney for the Bishop, go so far as to tell us, whether it was HE who obtained the persons to be bail? This is usually the *office of the attorney*; and will Mr. Wingfield be so good as to tell us, whether HE performed this office *upon this occasion*? This cannot be called "*precocious curiosity*," as Ellenborough called the looking into the affair of Mrs. Clarke. We may, surely, ask a question like this without being chargeable with a design to "overthrow the established authorities of the country."

Then, again, who was the *attorney* for the Soldier, for the Bishop's partner? Could no *attorney* be found for him? Could he get nobody to find *friends* to bail him? Blackstone calls *bail* an imprisonment in the hands of *friends*; he calls it "*friendly custody*." Could nobody find out a little matter of "*friendly custody*" for the Soldier? The *Old Times* says, that "*two mechanics*" were bail for the Bishop. Could no "*two mechanics*" be found to bail the Soldier? This is an odd thing! However, as I said before,

if old Doctors' Commons's hint should be taken; and if the Soldier were now to find "*friendly custody*," he could not do as the papers tell us the Bishop has done, that is to say, *quit the country*, unless he were first DISCHARGED! Oh, Lord! What a mess!

This, Sir, is a great *incident* in our drama. The effect of it will be felt to the last hour of the existence of the THING. It is like one of those wounds which men receive as they are going on towards old age; and which are not felt but at times. In very hot or in very cold weather. Against rain; or the like. Thus will this incident operate. It will never be cured. Time will smooth it over a little. But it will break out again. Its twitches and pangs will always be ready; and, it will cease its effects but with the cessation of the frame of which it has now become a constituent part.

The opinion which the dear *dunderheaded* Old Times newspaper has put into the mouth of Mr. Dyer respecting the motives of those who have been principally active in this disclosure, is, doubtless, levelled at me; at which I am by no means displeased, provided the party imputing the motive confine himself to the truth. When a man has been bound in bonds of *three thousand pounds* himself, with sureties in a *thousand*

pounds each, and that, too, for expressing his indignation at Englishmen being flogged in the heart of England under a guard of German bayonets; when such a man beholds the Bishop at large, and is told that the law *compelled* the Magistrate to let him go upon a bail of *five hundred pounds*; when such a man beholds and hears these things he has something more of duty to perform than men in general; he has had experience, which men in general have not had. And if, in addition to this, he has heard a Minister say, that he has laid his writings before the Law-officers of the Crown, and is *sorry* that they have found nothing in them to prosecute; such a man must be a base dog indeed; perfidious towards himself as well as towards the public to hold his tongue upon an occasion like this.

It is thus that the feelings of individuals operate, in the end, to the public good. The movements in the mind of one man communicate themselves to the minds of others; and if one man is feeble in himself he may become strong by the means of such communication. All men in power should bear this in mind; and if they were to bear it in mind, they would be more careful how they act. The persons in power in this country have had lessons innumerable: whether they will ever profit from them or not is much more than I shall attempt to determine.

Waiting with great eagerness for the further proceedings in this case, I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient, and
Most humble Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

From "THE STATESMAN."

[THE following Articles are reprinted in order that the Readers of The Register may be in possession of all the circumstances which have transpired with regard to this most important as well as horrible affair.]

Friday, 26th.

In another part of our paper, Mr. PARKINS, the late Sheriff of Middlesex, has given a very particular account of some most interesting matters connected with this affair. We never before heard of *bail*, of *any bail* being admissible in such a case; and, we must be allowed to express our firm conviction, that the more this matter is inquired into, the more strange and the more worthy of public watchfulness it will appear. In the meanwhile the *Old Times* has fairly opened at last. It was quite *silent* on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. Yesterday, finding, according to its own account, that the Right Reverend Father in God was out of the country, it began to *give tongue*. We said it would be *louder to-day*, and would begin to *blame the government for something or another*, either direct or by implication. We at the same time, said that some *law ought to be passed* to dispose of the Bishopric. Now, then, let our readers hear the *Old Times*, the *Sinking Old Times* of *to-day*; let them hear how this "*Leading*

journal of Europe" opens, upon the occasion; how it makes the covers ring with its cry!

In alluding with unfeigned repugnance to a hateful subject, which has now acquired what we cannot help regarding as a most *deplorable publicity*, we yesterday stated the current understanding that the criminal who had escaped from justice on this occasion, by the forfeiture of his bail, escaped from it also in a former instance by bringing an unfortunate man to an unjust and ignominious punishment. The poor victim of this *audacious hypocrite* was first, it is said, *unrelentingly flogged*, and next transported, or driven into distant exile. Now, *are sufferings like his to remain for ever unmitigated?* Is the offence against equity and humanity, which appears too clearly from recent circumstances to have been committed in his person, not to be atoned for by *any public act of the State itself*, through whose *erring tribunals* the innocent man was tortured, and the guilty enabled to triumph over him? We join our voice most earnestly to theirs who demand that as the first step towards reparation, a diligent search be made for this injured being, and, when found, that an ample indemnity be insured to him. Could a *small part* of the richly forfeited revenues of the bishopric be better employed than in such a satisfaction to justice? For the future disposal of the See of Clogher, there cannot well arise a more fit question to be considered by Parliament, since, we presume, there are few men in power at this time of day so nicely scrupulous as to talk of being scared by the proposition of an *ex post facto law*.

There he is; full cry, his legs stretched, belly to the ground, tail cocked, and the sweat pouring from his tongue! Hark to him! Hark to "*Leader!*" — This is

just the conduct that we have always witnessed in this villainous Old Paper: always falling full-mouthed upon what has been discovered and started by others. It is for the STATESMAN to hunt about through the brambles and thorns, to unloosen the fox, and then mount in the "*respectable Leader*" and the like of him, to enjoy the glories of the chase.

That however, which, as relating to this matter, is of the greatest importance of all, is, *what steps the Government will take as to the act of taking of bail!*—This business is in the department of Mr. PERL, who tells us that he loves "*plain dealing*." We by no means wish to be understood as entertaining a doubt of the Government doing what it ought to do. But, we think it our duty to call on the Public to be watchful. To pay strict attention to what is done in this case. At any rate, we repeat our decided opinion, that the Session ought not close without an Act of Parliament relative to the Bishopric of Clogher.

In speaking of the conduct of the Old Times, relative to this affair, we have had, all along, to make allowances for the peculiar situation of the reputed Editor JOHN WALTER, whom we spoke of yesterday as being happily at forty miles distance, at a place not described. To-day we have the pleasing intelligence to communicate to the exile, that he may come again to the charming *Wen* without the smallest danger to his shoulders; intelligence which we gather from the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day, the Old Times having from modesty we presume omitted

to insert it, though it is a *Police Report*.

Merry-le-bone Office.—Yesterday, Mr. O'MEARA, the Gentleman who has lately published a work entitled "*A Voice from St. Helena, or Napoleon in Exile*," accompanied by Mr. CHARLES PHILLIPS, the Barrister, appeared before JOHN RAWLINSON, Esq; the sitting Magistrate, in consequence of a warrant issued against him on the complaint of Mr. William Walter, for an assault. It appeared that the charge was preferred against Mr. O'Meara by Mr. Walter for a personal chastisement inflicted on him on the 22d instant, through mistake, Mr. O'Meara having supposed him to be Mr. John Walter of *The Times* journal, in which animadversions on his work, personally offensive to him, had appeared.

The Matter ended by WILLIAM WALTER forgiving the Doctor, and the Doctor's being bound over to keep the peace towards JOHN! We are very glad of this; for, a lawsuit is a bad thing at all times and under all circumstances. The thing has ended very well. HUNDREDS has proved, that, when one man is flogged for another, it is the principal that is the flogged party; and, in this case the thing appears perfectly reasonable, it being all in the family!

Saturday.

FIVE nights' Sitting of the Parliament have passed since this affair became notorious, and we hear of no Message; no, nor even of a motion, relative to the matter. Nay, not a question has been put to the Ministers by any of those vigilant, inquisitive and catechising gentlemen, who so laudably watch over the nation's

"cheese-parings, candle-ends, morals and religion." This, to some, seems odd; but, to us, it is not odd at all.

There are some, who pretend that the matter is too gross, too filthy, "too indelicate" is their phrase; and that the promulgation of the facts must do more harm than the example of exposure and punishment can do good; and this is the apology for all the wonderful silence that has prevailed. Now, the honest public will recollect what was the conduct of the same parties in the case of the ever-lamented and ever-honoured Queen Caroline! Was there then any fear of hurting public morals by exposure and punishment? Oh, God! Look down upon this THING, and deal with it as thou didst deal with similar THINGS in the olden time!

Have we forgotten the *Message of the 6th of June 1820*? Have we forgotten the threat at St. Omers? Have we forgotten the *Bill of Pains and Penalties*? Have we forgotten the arrival of the wretches, who were hunted from Dover to Harwich? Have we forgotten the *Cotton Garden fortress*? Have we forgotten the *Shepherdess of Frith-street*? Oh, no! nor the affair of the Italian witness, extracted from the fortress; nor, above all things, the opening speech of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, made, as he expressly said, agreeably to his instructions; that speech which stated, that the QUEEN had witnessed an exhibition, in which the performer "imitated the sexual intercourse." We have not forgotten these things, and, therefore, we must deem those men; who blazoned

the pretended acts of the QUEEN, and who now affect to believe that silence is the proper course, lest public morals should be contaminated by speaking out; we must deem all these men, be they who they may, most monstrous and abominable hypocrites.

What! public morals injured by the exposure of the act and the party! Public morals injured by this! God of truth and justice, hear these matchless hypocrites! It was to prevent public morals from being injured; it was to preserve public morals; this was the very ground, and the ONLY ground, alleged for the exposure, the Message, the Bill of Pains and Penalties, and for all that mass of filth from the mouths of the base Italians, produced and promulgated at public expense in the case of the innocent and injured QUEEN! Public morals, they said, demanded, that she should not live in a palace, or hold a court.—Public morals forbade her name to be put in that Liturgy, which prays for all Bishops, Priests and Deacons. Public morals demanded, that the Bishops and the whole body of the Clergy should take, with regard to her, the part that they did take. Public morals called upon Parson CUNNINGHAM, of Harrow-on-the-Hill, to put forth a Letter, stigmatizing those that took her part.

Do public morals, then, demand nothing now? Are we to be silenced by the word delicacy, after having seen printed by order of the House of Lords, the evidence of BARBARA KRANTZ, relative to the sheets; of which evidence the Right Reverend Father in God, HERBERT MARSH,

Lord Bishop of Peterborough, gave the House and us so excellent a translation into English of *BARBARA'S German? Delicacy*, indeed, after this, sent forth to our wives and daughters, in the *printed reports of the Lords' Proceedings*, and corrected by the interpretation of the *Bishop of PETERBOROUGH!* Shade of the injured *CAROLINE*, look down and behold the present scene!

In our paper of yesterday we expressed a hope, that the Parliament would not separate without passing *some Act* relative to the *Bishopric* and its great revenues. The extent of the riches and of the patronage of the *Bishopric* is very great. In cases of *outlawry*, the temporals are escheated as a matter of course; so that, if it be true, that the Bishop has fled, of which there appears to be no doubt, the temporals cease to him. But, there must be an *indictment* and a *trial*. Now, then, "*Society for the Suppression of Vice*," come on! Come on, zealous souls, yearning to promote and preserve "*public morals!*" You will not sleep now, to be sure. Your ATTORNEYS GENERAL, Messrs. GURNY and ADOLPHUS, will now, certainly, be quickly in motion! Mr. PHILLIPS observed, the other day, in open court, that you had never yet discovered *Vice* to prosecute in any rich person. Come, then, let us see what you will do now.—N.B. We shall be extremely obliged to any one who will be so good as to send us *printed lists* of the NAMES of the Members of the "*Society for the Suppression of Vice*," and of those of the "*Constitutional Association*." The former used to print such lists.—We saw one of

them several years ago; but we want to see one of *recent date*. We are to bear in mind, that Mrs. CARLILE and her *Sister* are in goal in consequence of prosecutions by this Society. It is proper that we should know *who the prosecutors are*. This is of great importance under any circumstances, and, at this moment, of importance, not to be adequately described by tongue or pen.

But, to return to the *Bishopric*, an Act of Parliament is easily made. We showed, yesterday, a case in point; but, why not a **BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES?** In the case of the innocent and injured *CAROLINE*, there was *such a Bill!* The Ministers said, that it was a departure from the *ordinary course* of administering justice; but, they insisted on the necessity of *doing something*, not for the sake of the King and husband, mind; not for *his sake*; but for the sake of the *morals of the nation!* Very well, then, shall we hear of no Bill of any sort now? The Parliament could bring in a Bill about a *Queen*, and surely it can bring in one about a *Bishop!* Those who fill the seats had, then, uncommon anxiety about the public *morals*, let what might become of decency; and, will they be indifferent now? In the case of the *Queen* all was a total secret to the people, till blazoned forth by the *Government*. The people neither had heard, nor wanted to hear, any of the tales. The persecuted *Caroline* was *their Queen*, and as such they respected her. They wanted to hear nothing. Their morals were safe from her example, even if that had been true which afterwards appeared

to be so false. It was the Government which forced out the whole of the disgusting details. But, now, a thing ten million times more injurious to the moral character of the nation has come to light; and, will this same Government now do nothing?

We can hardly account for the silence of the "friends of the Queen," who are in Parliament. They must recollect all about the *Liturgic* affair. They must, surely, recollect the *Message* and the *Green Bags* about the *National Morals*! They must recollect who it was, what description of persons it was, who were most bitter and cruel upon that occasion. They must recollect Mr. THWAITE being held to bail for saying aloud in a church in Suffolk, "God bless Queen CAROLINE." They must recollect all these things, and, is not something due, then, at this time, to her memory?

We shall suspend our opinion as to those "friends of the QUEEN" for a few days; and only for a few days; and, in the meanwhile, look at the *Bishop's bail*, which, according to an account, published in our paper of yesterday, by Mr. Sheriff PARKES, and signed with his name, is even less than that which we had before read of in the *Observer*. Mr. PARKES states the bail to have been only 500*l.* for the *Bishop himself*, and two sureties in 250*l.* each!!! But, why have we not, as in other cases, the names of the "two tradesmen?" Were they "tradesmen?" We do not believe it. We have heard the contrary. We have

heard that one of the bail belonged to a profession, not usually very fond of becoming bail. However, all must come out at last.

The country papers begin to come in; and we see, that some of them are carrying on the work of smothering as much as possible. We have, for instance, now lying before us, the "Huntingdon, Bedford and Peterborough Gazette, and Cambridge and Hertford Independent Presses;" but, numerous as its names are, and independent as it is, it contains (though printed yesterday) only the two sneaking articles from the base *Old Times*, and without a word of commentary of its own. That is to say, without a word of commentary on this subject; for, it has a convenient space with "original" nonsense about the *Turks*, the *Greeks*, the *Mindanese*, the *Widows*, and about many other things, all for the edification of the good people of the above-said counties by the means of this most "*Independent Press*."

There is a brazen blackguard in Ireland, who republishes weekly the whole of *The Register* in a newspaper form, and even calls his paper *The Weekly Register*. The author will forgive this brazen blackguard for all that he has hitherto done, if he will but republish the whole of the *Register* of THIS DAY. This, however, is precisely what he will not do! We know well how he will be prevented. We shall be obliged to some friend in Ireland to send us a paper containing his struggle. Send us two or three by different posts. It will be curious to see how he will wriggle out of it.

Monday.

We are happy to have to say, that most of the *Sunday Papers* did their duty yesterday; not excepting the *John Bull*, who has spoken of the bail, the escape, and of the conduct of the Magistrate, in terms that we very much approve of. But, JOHN, "honest JOHN," does not deny, that it was something wondrous strange that his "machinery" should meet with an "accident" just at the identical moment when his paper ought, on the Sunday morning, to have contained an account of a thing that happened on the Friday evening, and that JOHN must have heard of on the Saturday evening. We like to see JOHN's *lash-ing work*, which he does well, and which he can hardly lay on amiss, striking, as he does, amongst the knaves, bullies, and hypocrites in notorious life; but, we do not like the "accident to the machinery," which looked, to us, very much like the effects of that species of *palms-trick* known to be so potent when practised by certain operators.

The base conduct of the *Old Times* every one seems to reprobate. This affair has done this one great good, at any rate: it has stamped the character of that paper for the remainder of its existence; and, what is of not less importance, it has shown to what the *Morning Chronicle* can descend! That paper has acted a part worthy of the faction to which it belongs. This was something that must, in the end, affect the *Borough-mongers*; for the question of influence must come before the public in the course of the discus-

sion. To-day the *Chronicle* publishes what we dare say it deems an apology for its conduct, and we here give it in the *Chronicle's* own words:—

The *Daily Press* has been violently assailed because it did not in the very first instance emblazon in all its most disgusting colours, the late HORRIBLE OCCURRENCE. Journalists owe a duty to society paramount to their obligation to supply the incidents of the passing time, which is, to keep carefully from their columns all those gross subjects, which not only wound delicacy, but tend to the corruption of innocence. There is reason to believe, in a multitude of instances, that the very knowledge even of the existence of such a practice as the abomination in question is derived from judicial investigations; and it has been the opinion of many excellent persons—lawyers as well as moralists—that the interests of purity and virtue would be better consulted by abstaining altogether from prosecution, which cannot fail to give publicity to these detestable pollutions, than by the effect of any punishment that can be inflicted upon the wretched offenders. When, however, we found that the rank and station of the principal party had already given a general notoriety to the case, and considered that further measures must be adopted to purify the Church from such a stain, that must render concealment hopeless, we communicated it to our readers in the least offensive manner that was possible.

If any thing in the way of perverseness, crookedness, twistification, could surprise us; when coming from the metaphysical pen of a Scotch politician, this would surprise us. The *Chronicle* holds the abominable deed, we are very sure, in the same degree of detestation that we do; and

yet it really resorts to arguments which, if they could ever be adopted in England would, if possible, make Englishmen as detestable monsters as the Turks and Italians are.

In the first place, we by no means plead guilty to the charge of the *Chronicle*, of having made a virulent assault upon the press. That which is just cannot be virulent. Virulence means poisonousness, literally speaking; and, applied in this way, it means unjust severity; and we are not aware, that our censure on the daily press has been or could have been in this case unjustly severe. Had the *Chronicle* done its duty, in the first instance, not a word of censure would it have received from us. It was its duty to lead us; and can it imagine that it is to be guilty of such gross neglect of duty; such unpardonable partiality, without being told of it; and without being told of it, too, in a way that tends to its own degradation?

The *Chronicle*, however, is consistent, here: for it seems to have cooked up on the present occasion a doctrine of *general impunity*; or, at least, a doctrine that would prevent every crime from being exposed, and, of course, the very serious crime of conducting a partial and corrupt press. As to this doctrine, we are, however, completely at issue with the *Chronicle*. The *Chronicle*, in order to cover itself, says that it has been found fault with for not having in the first instance emblazoned in its most *disgusting colours* the late horrible occurrence; and it afterwards talks about the duty of journalists to keep *gross objects* from the public

view. Now, in the first place, here is a false insinuation against the *STATESMAN* and the *Register*. Six articles on the subject have appeared in the *STATESMAN*; sixty-four columns on the subject are contained in the last *Register*; and we defy the *Chronicle*, aided and assisted by the whole band of *Edinburgh Reviewers*, to point out one single passage or phrase in the whole of that mass of writing, offensive in the smallest degree, to the eye or mind of the most delicate person.

But, it is the general doctrine of the *Chronicle* that we most dislike. It says, that there is reason to believe that the knowledge of the existence of such practices is derived from *judicial investigation*; and "it has been the opinion of many excellent persons, lawyers as well as moralists, that the interests of purity and virtue would be better consulted by abstaining altogether from prosecution, than to cause publicity by the means of punishment." This is perfectly monstrous all through.

The *Chronicle* does not tell us who those lawyers and moralists are; who those "excellent persons" are, who think that prosecution, in such cases ought not to take place. As to lawyers, we have not found them in general the best judges as to morals, and should be very sorry, indeed, to see the morals of our country committed to their care; but if we may gather the opinion of lawyers from the laws themselves, and from the decisions of Courts of Justice, which we think of great deal better authority than the bare assertion of the *Chronicle*, we must conclude that lawyers are

for legal punishment of the crime. With regard to *moralists*, we know few persons, the soundness of whose judgment we should sooner suspect than your *professed moralists*. Dr. JOHNSON was called the great moralist of the age, and as such his statue at public expense was placed in St. Paul's. His books, as far as they relate to morals are a tissue of rules, maxims and observations, tending to the dispiriting and degrading of mankind; to the souring of men's tempers; to the producing of melancholy; to the checking of all exertions; to the damping of all hope; in short, to the making of the whole of a man's life one continued curse; and yet the Doctor was not what one would call a wicked man, and appears really to have thought that he was giving lessons of virtue.

So that as to moralists, in the first place, we must know who they are; and in the next place, be these moralists of the *Chronicle* who they may, we must take leave to say that they must be very stupid men, and very impudent, also, to set up their opinions, not only against the opinions of mankind in general, but against that, which has been the basis of all criminal law in all countries and ages, namely, that crime is to be prevented by the publicity and exposure which necessarily attend public punishment. According to the doctrine of the *Chronicle*, every species of vice must pass with impunity; because to punish is to make its existence known; is to cause it to be talked about; and according to this new doctrine, by that very means to promote the vice, to increase the practice of it and to render it na-

tional. Much better, then, for the husband to be a contented cuckold, much better for the wife to say not a word about the husband's infidelity. Why what a monstrous thing is this! How long does the *Chronicle* think it will be, if the dread of exposure was completely removed; how long does he think it would be before a state of promiscuous intercourse would exist very nearly approaching to that of flocks and droves? And, as to the particular and abominable vice itself, the *Chronicle* told us but the other day, that the hellish Turks had seized immense numbers of the Grecian *boys* for that atrocious purpose, which we need not describe, and which was so common among the Turks! This is sweetly *consistent* in the *Chronicle* to be sure! It is so very delicate, that it cannot, even when called upon in a voice of Thunder by public justice in England, say a word about a *Bishop* of the Church of England, though the act had taken place in London itself; it is so very *delicate* that it cannot communicate the intelligence of this deed to the English people, lest it should communicate the *knowledge of the existence* of such practices; yet it can, day after day, describe these practices as carried on by the Turks, and that too, in allusions much more broad and terms much more *gross* than we have made use of in the whole course of our writing upon the subject. This is very consistent on the part of the *Chronicle*. Many days before the Bishop's affair took place, the *Chronicle* was *emblazoning* the conduct of the Turks. The public might have said, indeed, and not without reason, why is this hateful vice

portrayed so plainly, and exhibited to the eyes of the English people, who have very little to do with the Turks, thank God; but at any rate, when this hateful vice came to be practised by a Bishop in London; when there was the circumstance of the bail; when the character of courts and of the administration of public justice came to be implicated and mixed up with the affair; when this bail was what it was in comparison with the bail demanded of poor JOSEPH SWANN, who had to endure three months of imprisonment as a foretaste of the four years and a half of imprisonment which were to follow on conviction; when that labouring man had to endure three months imprisonment for want of bail, making his whole imprisonment four years and nine months, and that, too, for selling pamphlets, containing not one single immoral expression, and for being present at a Reform Meeting where he never spoke; when such was the bail; when the Soldier was retained, though the Bishop was set at large; was not this a case in which every thing ought to be set at defiance; was not this a case when delicacy was a thing wholly out of the question; was not this a case when justice, and justice only, should have been heard?

But, to return to the doctrine of the *Chronicle*. No man according to this doctrine can be tried for violating female chastity, that crime, too, must pass with impunity! *False charges* relative to the very crime of which we are speaking, must also go unprosecuted, because to prosecute leads to exposure; leads to a circulation of

the knowledge of the existence of the vice itself; and because many excellent persons of the *Chronicle's* acquaintance, lawyers as well as moralists, are of opinion that the atrocious villains who endeavour to extort money by threats of accusations of this sort, or not less atrocious villains who make charges of the kind from vindictive or other motives, ought to escape every thing resembling legal investigation!

We are no Bible Society people, nor Religious Tract people, and most heartily despise all the whole mass of cant that is employed in twisting and turning religion to the purpose of persuading the labourer that he is to die contented with an empty belly or with his maw full of grass or bark of trees. But, the Bible is not silent upon this subject. The Bible is put into the hands of every human being in the kingdom. That Bible, therefore, according to the *Chronicle* ought to be burnt by the hands of the common-hangman, or, at least, to be prosecuted by the Society for the Suppression of Vice; for that Bible most fully describes the deed, the very knowledge of which the *Chronicle* says ought to be kept from the public! But what does that Bible say about it? It makes the thing public, to be sure; but it tells us that God did in this case what he never did in any other, poured down fire and brimstone, and utterly destroyed the whole race and the whole of the habitations of the criminals.

Here we have the practice, and here we have its consequences. The exposure is immediately followed by the dreadful punishment. This is the true doctrine;

but adopt that of the *Chronicle*; and all fear of exposure is at an end; all the salutary effects of such fear vanish; pick pockets, shop lift, swindle, extort, rob, may murder; the fear of shame is all gone; families are all secure from the reproach brought upon them by the misconduct of individuals belonging to them; parents need take no care of their conduct, seeing that it can bring no shame upon their children; children may indulge in the most abandoned of vices without being in the smallest degree restrained by that filial feeling which teaches them to avoid giving pain to their parents. Adopt, in short, the doctrine of the *Morning Chronicle*, the fear of exposure is at an end, and Englishmen may in time become what the horrible monsters of Europe now are.

We are quite sure that the public will agree with us and reject this doctrine of the *Chronicle*. We hope, too, that the Government will lose no time in convincing the nation that it entertains the same opinion relative to this matter that we do. The case is one of greater importance than any that has made its appearance within our recollection. It is a case from which all politics must be dismissed. It would be monstrous injustice to entertain a thought that there is a man belonging to the Government that would wish to screen this horrible offender. If there are any persons, save and except the immediate relations of the offender himself, that are filled with anxiety upon this occasion, it must be the Ministers. They must lament the proceedings which have taken place with regard to the

ball and the sudden enlargement. They must know, and they do know well, how vigilant the people are become, how perfect is their knowledge as to the rights and duties of men. The Ministers must know that on the administration of justice with impartiality the very fate of the Government itself may depend. Here is an occasion when all eyes are open; the feelings of all alive; the case is so plain that disguise is wholly impossible; and the Ministers must wish, and form every thing we have heard we believe they do wish, that strict justice should be done; at any rate, they may be perfectly satisfied, that this is a thing that will never be forgotten by the people of England; and that will come forth and be arrayed in all its terrors, carrying with it all its powers on men's passions; at some future time (and that time may not be far distant) when good will towards each other; when a mutual sacrifice of all resentments; and when the only rivalry ought to be who shall go furthest in devotion of himself and his means to the preservation of the peace, safety and honour of the country.

If reflections of this kind have not forced their way into the minds of the Minister, we hope they speedily will; and, in the mean time we cannot think that the *Morning Chronicle*, with all its excessive delicacy and morality, has acted quite a manly part in making a sort of insinuating accusation against the Ministers upon this occasion, as it certainly does, when it talks of the motives from which this man was promoted to be a Bishop. These

may be a time to speak of this ; and there will be such a time ; but at present it is but fair for us to wait to see what the ministers will do ; and not to admit the supposition that they mean, in such a case, to do what is wrong.

Tuesday.

It is only by degrees that the circumstances belonging to this affair can be brought to light ; because, at the *beginning* the usual open course was not pursued. We are going to lay before our readers an instance of the natural consequences of this affair not having been as public as other affairs brought before the Magistrates of police. It is very well known, that there are Reporters regularly sent to the police offices ; that we have day after day, and every day, accounts, containing the precise description of the several offences ; the names of the parties especially ; the names of persons becoming bail ; the grounds upon which the Magistrates decide ; and in short, a clear and satisfactory account of the whole of the proceedings. This is very useful to the public ; because it puts honest men upon their guard against the machinations, and, as far as the task is performed with impartiality, it has the benefit of producing a check to vice by the dread of exposure through the means of the press ; and thus it is, that, in this respect, the press would be the guardian of public morals ; it would be what it calls itself, if it were honestly to do its duty.—*Why the names of the parties were suppressed in this case ; why there*

were no names of the bail ; why the amount of the bail even was not known for some time but from rumour ; *why all this was in this case, we shall not, and we need not, give ourselves the trouble to endeavour to find out.*—We now come to what appears to have taken place yesterday at Marlborough-street.

We take it from the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day, and, while we really see it with pleasure, and with equal pleasure give publicity to it, we cannot help expressing our admiration of the *minuteness* of the *Morning Chronicle* here, contrasted with the *seven lines of obscurity* to which it treated us relative to the principal affair.

MARLBOROUGH-STREET.

VINDICATION OF CHARACTER.—A case of felony in which Messrs. Adolphus and Alley were engaged, has been disposed of—the latter drew a Sunday newspaper from his pocket, which contained the following paragraph, bearing to be copied from an Evening Paper (THE STATESMAN,) of Saturday:—

“ In the meanwhile, look at the *Bishop's bail*, which, according to an account, published in our paper of yesterday, by Mr. Sheriff PARKINS, and signed with his name, is even less than that which we had before read in the *Observer*. Mr. PARKINS states the bail to have been only 500*l.* for the Bishop himself, and two sureties in 250*l.* each !!! But, why have we not, as in other cases, the names of the “ *two tradesmen* ?” Were they “ *tradesmen* ?” We do not believe it. We have heard to the contrary. We have heard that one of the bail belonged to a *profession*, not usually very fond of becoming bail. However, all must come out at last.”

Mr. Alley addressed Mr. Dyer on the flagrant attack made on himself or a respectable attorney by whom he was employed, by the insinuation contained in the above paragraph, which it was impossible any man could read without supposing that one or the other had been bail on the occasion alluded to, by the words marked in *italics*. The Learned Counsel requested of Mr. Dyer, the Clerk, and Officers who were present, to state whether there was any foundation for such report, or whether it had originated with them? The answer to which was, certainly not. Mr. Alley took leave distinctly to say, that the person with whom the report originated, be he who he may, was a liar, a slanderer, and a coward; a base and infamous coward, who had asserted a falsehood behind his back, which he dared not attempt in his presence. Mr. Alley observed, that it was a cruel thing, that being called upon in the usual way by a most respectable attorney, to attend professionally for a bad man, he should become an object of malignant slander. He was not conscious of having deviated from his usual practice; that it was against the etiquette of the profession to become bail for a client; and he declared upon his honour that he had never bailed a man in his life, and on the occasion alluded to, had any one asked such a thing, he should have spit in his face. On the charge having been established for the misdemeanor, he submitted that the defendant was entitled to bail without any allusion to the amount. He believed that Sheriff Parkins had no participation in the declaration stated, although the writer spoke in the plural throughout. Mr. Cobbett, he was informed, was the avowed Editor of the Evening Paper. He was not aware he had ever done an unkindness to him, nor could he even have incurred his displeasure as a political opponent, as he never interfered in politics, and he

was surprised that he should have lent himself to so unjust and unwarrantable an attack.

Mr. DYER observed, that Mr. Alley conducted himself upon the occasion, with that delicacy and propriety he had ever observed in him, and he was sorry so many observations unfounded in truth should have found their way into the Newspapers. The Magistrate observed that he had no apology to make, and he considered many of the observations as having originated in ignorance or malice in those whose disposition it was to attack the public institutions and constituted authorities of the country.

Such are the consequences of leaving things to rumour! If the reporters of the papers of Sunday and Monday morning had been disposed to do their duty, which we dare say they were, and had also had the usual opportunity of obtaining correct information, all this vehemence of protestation in the way of vindication of character, as the *Morning Chronicle* calls it, would have been spared. In the absence of the usual information, rumour would necessarily be at work. And every body knows, that rumour is given to magnify, to disfigure and misrepresent. Great caution is to be observed in the case of rumour; but, in an affair so interesting to the public it is the duty of a journalist to state with becoming caution even what he gathers from rumour, when the way is completely barred to positive information. Had the names of the bail been published in the usual way, rumour could have done no mischief. Not only was it not done; however, but even now it is not done, in this police report; though that publication

now appeared to have become absolutely necessary.

As to the terms *liar*, *slanderer*, and *infamous coward*, applied to the person with whom the supposed allegation originated, perhaps it would be infinitely more difficult to find that person than it would be to find the Bishop himself. We should suppose Mr. ALLEY to be in error as to his conjectures all through, as we know him to be in error with regard to one fact which he states on borrowed information. Now, it is very certain, that *benefit*, and not injury has arisen from the supposed allusion in the STATESMAN. No reader will believe that that allusion could have been hatched by the Editor. Every reader must be satisfied that it arose from rumour; and is it not much better, that the explanation should have taken place, than that rumour should go on working its way?

The *Old Times*, (very noisy now) takes occasion to tell more than the *Chronicle* tells; it says that one gentleman present "termed COBBETT a wholesale dealer in lies." Poor *Old Times* would fain make something of this if it could. It cannot. It bites against a file. The *Old Times* gives a different version from the *Chronicle*; the *Chronicle* says that Mr. ALLEY said, that, if any one had asked him to be bail upon this occasion he should have spit in his face.—The *Old Times* says, that Mr. ALLEY said, that "If any one had asked him to bail that unfortunate gentleman he should have refused with indignation." Now, who is to know which is the true version of what passed at the Police-office.

We believe neither of the reports. One of them must be false; but, we give them, as nearly as we are able, with the room that we have to dispose of. The *Morning Chronicle* says that Mr. DYER said, that many of the remarks which had been published he considered "as having originated in ignorance or malice in those whose disposition it was to attack the public institutions and constituted authorities of the country!" Indeed! What a pity! What a scandalous dog that must be who can have a disposition to attack "the envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world;" but, the *Old Times* makes Mr. DYER say no such thing as this, or, rather, it makes him say a great deal more; for it makes him say, that the party, who had written the paragraph complained of could be actuated by no other motive than that of overthrowing the established authorities of the country; and that, "this lamentable transaction had been used as a handle for effecting, as far as possible, that wish!" This is precisely what we foresaw, and what we so clearly predicted on Thursday last. We differ, however, in opinion, very widely from Mr. DYER; and we think, that we have done our best to produce such a feeling in the Public, that such conduct in the Government as are likely to preserve, and not to overthrow, the established authorities of the country.—Mr. DYER will please to recollect, that, when we took the affair up, the name of the Bishop was not known; and that, of course, public suspicion, must, had it not been for us, have con-

tinued to range about amongst the whole Bench. He will have the goodness to recollect, that it was bare justice to the rest of the Bishops to name the party. He will also recollect, that if the bail had been named, as is generally the case, and always in an affair of importance, there could have been nothing for rumour to have worked on.

The *Old Times* tell us that Mr. DRYE said, that it was contrary to all rule to give up the names of the bail. We know that we daily read the names of bail; and we have never heard of such a rule as this before. The *Old Times* tells us upon its own authority, that the bail are both persons exercising *Mechanical Trades*. But the *Old Times* does not name the bail, even yet. We had letters sent to us, yesterday, explaining the circumstances under which these tradesmen became bail. But these letters are anonymous; and we would advise the parties themselves to come forth and explain those circumstances in point. They, however, will do as they please about this matter.

In the meanwhile, let us do, as far as we can, justice to the Government, and particularly to Mr. PERL. In another part of our paper we have inserted an article from the *New Times*, which we cannot but look upon as demi-official, and on which we shall have further to remark another time. But, in the meanwhile, we are very glad to observe (what we always supposed to be the case) that the knowledge of the matter did not reach Mr. PERL until after the chief criminal had been admitted to bail. We hope and

trust that this is true; for, on this turns the whole of the question as far as the Government is concerned. We never believed, for one moment, that Mr. PERL would not do, in this case, that which it was his duty to do. But we must, at the same time assert for ourselves, that we firmly believe that all impartial persons will agree with us, that our exertions in this case, have been of the greatest importance to the public.

(FROM "THE NEW TIMES.")

"We briefly adverted, a few days ago, to the disgraceful conduct of a Dignitary of the Irish Church. One sentiment of abhorrence actuates every mind on the subject; and Government have shown themselves on this, as on all other occasions, faithful representatives of the national feeling. Anxious to mark their sense of the severe injury sustained by the cause of religion and morals, they nevertheless could only act as the law directs; but every measure prescribed by the law has been and will be pursued with undeviating strictness. As soon as the matter came to the knowledge of the Home Department, (which was not after the chief criminal had been admitted to bail), the particulars were officially submitted to the consideration of the Crown Lawyers; and in conformity with their professional advice, the most speedy and effectual means were adopted, both in Ireland and England, for proceeding at once in the temporal and ecclesiastical Courts. The See of Clogher, therefore, will not long bear the stain with which it is at present defiled. If conscience does not prompt a voluntary resignation of the pastoral charge, recourse will be had to the solemn, but happily very unusual process of Episcopal deprivation, which must be pronounced by the Metropolitan, usually taking to his assist-

ance six or seven other Bishops. No instance of this infliction has occurred, we believe, since the reign of William III.; but it is certain that the Church retains the power of removing a Prelate from his See for scandalous excesses, 'whence any great public infamy doth arise;' and that the present is a case which calls aloud for the exercise of that power no one can doubt.

"Independently of this, the Attorney-General will officially prosecute the parties at the Middlesex Sessions, either to trial, or if they evade that, to outlawry, with all its consequent penalties and disabilities.—More the law does not permit: for, black as the moral turpitude of the conduct deposed to, it still amounts only to a bailable offence; and we all know that by the Common Law, and by the *Habeas Corpus* Act, it is deemed a violation of the liberty of the subject, in any Magistrate, to refuse or delay to bail a person bailable. In the present instance, the wealthier individual found bail immediately; and if the other should tender bail at any time before the Sessions, it must be accepted. The Magistrate demanded much more than ordinary, though we fear much less than effectual bail; but it must be remembered that the Bill of Rights strictly forbids the taking of excessive bail. It is to be regretted that a villain should ever shelter himself under the protection of such salutary enactments; but they are too closely interwoven with our liberties to admit a doubt of their general utility, even though in a particular instance they may operate to produce a defeazance of that entire and exemplary justice which the case demands."

MR. WOOLER.

THIS Gentleman was liberated on Friday last, the 26th, after his imprisonment of Fifteen Months in Warwick Castle. It is no less pleasing to us to hear Mr. Wooler's statement of the attention and civility with which he has been treated by the Magistrates and by the Officers of the Gaol during his imprisonment, and of the reception with which he was about to be honoured at Birmingham on his release; circumstances which are equally complimentary to Mr. Wooler as to those in whose custody he has been and his countrymen at Birmingham.

COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

I SHALL immediately collect together all the Commentaries that have been published in *The Statesman*, during the Session, under the head of "Proceedings in Parliament." These, together with a *List of the Acts* that have been passed, stating briefly the substance of each, will, I think, form the best sort of *Parliamentary Register* that can be. I shall go back to the *beginning of the Session*; and shall, besides the *Acts*, give the substance, at least, of all the most important *Papers* laid before Parliament during the Session.—The Book will form a pretty thick Octavo Volume, and the Price will be *Seven Shillings*.

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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TO THE

HAMPSHIRE PARSONS.

On the present prospects with regard to their temporalities; and on the affair of the Right Reverend Father in God and the Soldier of the Guards, more particularly as that affair is illustrated by the trial of Byrne in Ireland, in 1811.

Worth, Sussex, 6 August 1832.

PARSONS,

"THE PSALMIST" says, that there is a time for all things. There was a time for you to set up a cry against "*sedition and blasphemy*;" there was a time for you to insult us with Jubilee and Old Blucher rejoicings; there was a time for you to badger and bait and worry the sellers of my Register, though their puranit was

as lawful and full as useful as yours; there was a time for you to meet at Winchester, to make a bawling, a hooting, a howling and a yelling, such as no man ever heard before, in order to drown my voice and that of Lord Cockrane, and so to behave, in all manner of ways as to induce that Noble Lord to say, in the House of Commons, that, in the whole course of his life he had never seen the *equal* of you, even amongst sailors on the Point at Portsmouth at the time of paying off the fleet; there was a time for all these, and many more, things, done by you, and now there is a time for me, one of those who have the best reason to dislike you, to talk to you about what I think will befall you and your dear *temporalities*; and to talk to you also about the Right Reverend

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Father in God and the Soldier of years and a half, leaving a wife the Guards ; and to show you how the Father in God's piety was illustrated on the trial of poor Byrne in Ireland, in 1811. You are the properest persons in the world for me to address myself to upon this occasion ; for, if I except your brethren of Lancashire, I know not your equals in the whole Kingdom, as foes to Reform and to Freedom of the Press.

And now, first of all, what have you gained by all your hostility to freedom ? You succeeded in putting a stop to the free circulation of the Register in 1817. You and others like you succeeded in your works against those whom you charged with "*sedition and blasphemy.*" The dungeons have groaned ; they have witnessed suffering indescribable. But, what have you gained ? Strange sight to behold ! Mr. CARLILE, his wife and sister safe in dungeons, fined enormously, himself sentenced to *bail for life*. JOSEPH SWANN imprisoned by the Justices of Cheahire for *four*

years and a half, leaving a wife and four small children to beg or starve ! Strange sight to behold ! Six Acts passed, printers held to bail before they enter on their business ; presses all registered and licensed ; the price and bulk of pamphlets regulated by law ; bail for the peace and good behaviour even before the charge of libel proved ; John Hayes put into prison for ten weeks for want of bail, only because he informed his townsmen that I was arrived at Liverpool in good health ; the Yeomanry and Magistrates of Manchester thanked by Sidmouth : all these things ; and when every danger to you and the THING seemed to be got completely over, up rise dangers ten thousand times greater than ever, and, in the very Parliament itself, the question is mooted, when and how the attack on your temporalities is to commence !

Before I go any further, let me call you back to March 1817. You shall be told of that as long as I live, or, at least, if any of

you be left where you now are, perhaps, they might, and, as the
 We were then assembled at Win-
 chester to address the Regent on
 the *breaking of the glass* of his
 coach in the Park. The whole
 of that pretty affair will come out
 yet. You had got your Address,
 which was rejected by the people;
 but, carried up by the sheriff,
 WILLIS, who is now called FLEM-
 ING. The particulars of the scan-
 dalous proceedings of that day
 are recorded in the Register,
 where they will long live to re-
 cord the character and conduct
 of *Hampshire Parsons*. But,
 one thing happened which now
 steps forward for particular no-
 tice. Your Address called on the
 Meeting to pledge themselves to
 the support of our "*Holy Reli-
 gion*." To this I objected, be-
 cause many of the persons pre-
 sent were *Dissenters*; and could
 not consistently pledge themselves
 to the support of that which they
 were constantly endeavouring to
abate. But, as to *tithes*, the law
 compelled us all to pay them;
 and, if the Meeting liked them, as

tithes were really what you meant,
 I had no objection to their pledg-
 ing themselves to support the
tithes; and, to this effect I moved
 an amendment.

The noise, the hawling, the
 spitting, the hooting, the bellow-
 ing, the uproar that you made
 upon this occasion the people of
 Hampshire will never forget. I
 remonstrated with you, told you
 that you stood in your own light,
 for that the *tithes* were really the
 things in danger; and that you,
 above all men, ought to be for a
reform, that measure, and that
 measure adopted immediately, be-
 ing absolutely necessary to pre-
 serve to you any portion of that
 fat which had been sticking to
 your ribs for so many years. I
 told you distinctly, that, by that
 day *four years* you would dis-
 cover, that you had now been cut-
 ting your own throats. That four
 years ended in March 1821; and,
 if you did not make the discovery
 by that time, you must have been
 blind, indeed.

Now, the question has actually been brought forward in *Parliament*. Yes, in that very parliament which you asserted was the *best thing in the world*, it has now been plainly proposed to *touch* your temporalities; and, that they will be touched, and pretty deeply too, no rational man has any doubt. That this is *just* in a *legal* point of view nobody can deny; and, that it is just in a *moral* point of view is still, if possible, more evident. The Debt was contracted to carry on the late wars; those wars were carried on at the instigation of several classes of persons, but the persons who really caused them to be carried on were those who *filled the seats* and those who possessed the *tithes*. All those who objected to the wars; all those who represented the evil consequences that must arise from the *Debt* that the wars were creating; all those who refused to rejoice at what were called *victories* purchased with the loans that constituted that Debt; all those who said, that a day of reck-

oning must come, were *reviled by you*. You, and your whole body, were *always* for the war. Even the seat-fillers seemed, at times, to be alarmed at the consequences; but, *you* were always for *fighting on!*

For more than a quarter of a century all your petitions, addresses, charges, and sermons breathed vigorous prosecution of the war abroad and rigorous treatment of the "disaffected" at home. You had been heard by us, from our infancy, denouncing the Catholic religion as *idolatrous* and *damnable*; we had heard you denominating the Pope as *Anti-Christ*; we had heard you call him the *Whore of Babylon*; the *Scarlet Whore* drunk with the blood of the saints; we had heard you going on at this rate from our infancy; what were we to think, then, when we found you mad with zeal, burning with rage, for war against those who had *put down* the Catholic religion and the *Whore of Babylon*? What were we to think of your

motives? Here, if you had told us truth from our infancy; here was a *great good* accomplished. You had been preaching and praying against this *Anti-Christ* for about three *hundred years*; and, when some men arose, and *put him down*, actually unhorsed him, you cried out for a *war of extermination against those men*! And, what is more, you supported, with all your might, those who voted immense sums of money out of English taxes to be given to support the fugitive priests of "*Anti-Christ*."

It was impossible that we should behold a thing so singular and so striking as this without *reflecting* on it; without looking a little deeper than the surface. You called the French people *rebels* and *atheists*, and reviled them particularly for having abolished the "*Christian religion*;" and you called on us to make war against them *on that account*. It was curious enough, that the religion of "*Anti-Christ*" now became *Christian religion*; and, if

it were true, that the French had become *Atheists*, it did not seem possible, that the change, according to your former teachings, could have been for the *worse*; for, though Atheism might be very *bad*, it remained for you to prove, that it could be *worse* than that "*damnable*" thing that existed before it. Atheism might cause men to be damned, but what could it do *more* to them? And, therefore, it seemed the strangest thing in the world, that you should imbibe so implacable a rage against the French people. They had a "*damnable*" belief before, and they had no more now; and, as they had begun to *change* at the end of twelve hundred years, they might go on changing possibly till they came *right* at last. And yet, you, upon their very first change, upon their very first shaking off *Anti-Christ*, denounce against them the vengeance of exterminating war!

To find a solution of conduct so strange would appear impossible; but, let us try it. The

priests of "Anti-Christ" had false religion, there could be no tithes; (Ah!) and those tithes were substituted by the "Atheists." Oh, mighty "Atheists!" But, here we must go back a little. Read my 12th Sermon; a better sermon than any of you ever wrote; a sermon read more and more productive of effect than all that the whole of you have preached during your whole lives; a sermon that shows, that tithes are not necessary to produce sermons. Read that Sermon, which has been circulated to the amount of twenty thousand copies, notwithstanding *Sidmouth's Circular* and the *Six Acts*. Read that Sermon, fire-shovel-hot men; read that, and then you will discover, that the whole nation sees pretty clearly, that the tithes in England and Ireland were given, originally, to the priests of what you called an "idoltrous and damnable" religion, which priests were supplanted by you in the enjoyment of those tithes. If those priests had not been very bad, and not been the teachers of a

false religion, there could be no reason, no good cause, for taking the tithes from them and giving them to you. But, seeing that they followed "Anti-Christ," there was quite sufficient reason for this memorable transfer.

But (and now we come to the touchstone!) the French made no such transfer! They put down "Anti-Christ," but they put down tithes too! This was their crime. They abolished tithes; they turned out the lazy impostors called "regular clergy," who were regular in nothing but in gormandizing, drinking, and wallowing in all sorts of luxurious vices; they freed the land of its greatest curse; they drove away the vile drones and left the bees to enjoy the honey of their own collecting; these things the French people did, and they were called "Atheists," and their former priests, instead of being still called priests of the Whore of Babylon, became all of a sudden, "Christians." That religion, which was before "idoltrous and dam-

"well," now because an object of of reckoning is, however, now
affliction with those who had so come; and (oh, how just is God!)
fully abused it, and we were to it is come while the French peo-
ple are enjoying the abolition of
the at the expense of a war of titles, and also the abolition of all
extermination to cause it, and all these privileges which made no-
belonging to it, to be re-esta- bility a curse. The French na-
tion is enjoying all the fair fruits
blished! The French were ene- of its valour and wisdom; all the
mies of all religion; that is to fair fruits of its wise and just
say, enemies of all titles; and abstractions, while this nation is
whoop! for war until they were tornward distracted by the Debt
perished!

There is not a man in England who has only a moderate portion
of common sense, who needs to
have said to him another word
upon this part of the subject.

Well, then, on went the war.

To carry it on without loans was impossible. To suffer a nation
to abolish nobility and titles,
and to remain in that state, to be
happy in that state, was a thing
not to be thought of. No matter,
therefore, what the cost. No
matter what Debt, or how to be
paid. The day of reckoning
must, now and then, have been
thought of; but, that was nothing
when compared with the effect of this.
The day

of reckoning is, however, now
come; and (oh, how just is God!)
it is come while the French peo-
ple are enjoying the abolition of
titles, and also the abolition of all
these privileges which made no-
bility a curse. The French na-
tion is enjoying all the fair fruits
of its valour and wisdom; all the
fair fruits of its wise and just
abstractions, while this nation is
tornward distracted by the Debt
and the other intolerable burdens
of that very war, which was
kindled and persevered into cause
the example of these abstractions
to be of no effect here.

These burdens have now to be
borne, or to be got rid of. To
bear them without a transfer of
the land from the present owners
(unless they be tax-cases too)
is impossible. The Debt is clearly
payable solely to the war. (The
Waterloo charge, or what the Mi-
nisters call the blood money) is
also expressly the fruit of the
struggle. They have not only
taken care to distin-
guish this charge from the charge

of the year. They call it, and justly call it, *Debt*. Thus, then, out of the sixty millions of taxes, forty millions, at least, is due to the war. To pay in gold, or something approaching it, is now absolutely necessary; for, if you do not, the **THING** is done for the other way. And yet, *to pay* means something. It means the transferring of estates, the whole of which must, with the present taxes, go to the creditors of the 'Change, those of *Waterloo*; and to the tax-eaters of various descriptions.

What, in such a state of things, are the *landlords* to do? Deduct from *Jerusalem* or from *Waterloo* they cannot *without reform*. Deduct from the *Horse Guards* they cannot, while all the rest is to be paid for. Deduct from *Whitehall* they cannot, that is to say, from placemen, pensioners, and other Civil List people; for these are the grease and tar of the wagon of state. What, then, are the *landlords* to do? They must look about them, to be sure, to see whether there be no public property that

can be disposed of, in order to pay the Debt without selling their own estates for that purpose. And, what public property is there so clearly "available" as that of *tithes* and other things belonging to what is vulgarly called "the Church!" This, therefore, will be applied to the purpose, of course; and, indeed, there is notice of a specific motion on the subject, to be made early in the next Session of Parliament!

This is so reasonable, so natural a measure, and withal so popular, that it will be sure to meet with no impediment worth speaking of. It is a measure that every body is for, except the Clergy themselves. It will be curious, to be sure, to see the tithes applied to the discharge of a Debt, contracted to carry on a war of extermination against tithe abolishers; but, this will not be the first instance of appropriate retaliation which the history of nations has presented to obstinate man. This was the way in which the French paid off their Debt. They gave the own-

ers of funds that which, had been the property of the Church; that is to say, public property given for the support of priests. It is very well, perhaps, to bestow ten or fifteen millions a-year in this way, when a nation is rich; when it does not know what to do with its money. But, when it is poor; when it does not know what in all the world to do for want of money to pay its debts with, it would be foolish indeed to give a large part of its revenues to men, who teach a religion that inculcates abstinence from all fleshy and worldly enjoyments, and the priests of which declare most solemnly at their ordination, that they will not follow worldly desires.

As to the sacredness of tithes, that might, with some colour of reason have been put forth in France, and Spain, and Portugal. But here, thanks to that glorious and Godly Reformation, which delivered us from the idolatry of Anti-Christ, no such objection can possibly be urged without exposing the objector to the charge of

raising madness. My 12th Sermon will show you, that what is artfully called Church Property has no foundation in the Holy Scriptures; that Christ and his Apostles held the contrary doctrine, and taught by their example. It will also show you, that you have no claim to tithes or to any sort of Church goods, except in virtue of Acts of Parliament. And, if Acts of Parliament could take, and did take, the tithes from the priests of "Anti-Christ" and give them to you, Acts of Parliament can, surely, take them from you and give the proceeds of them to pay off debts, which that same Parliament, and with your decided approbation, has contracted with the 'Change and with Waterloo.

On the score of any heretofore supposed sacredness in the thing to be dealt with there is, therefore, no difficulty; and, as to equity, what can be more equitable, than to pay with public property the debt due to the "public creditor?" Where would "national faith"

be, unless the nation paid us for those "comforts" from you. "You on its means would allow?" "Who will retain them still, and, if there could have the assurance to talk say, in greater abundance than of "national faith," if this large over. There will be no hindrance parcel of national domains were to your preaching and praying, suffered to remain in your hands, and, as the Apostle directs, while those who "lent their money, or shed their blood" in that you may not be chargeable the cause of our "holy religion" to any."

I must not omit to observe to you, that, besides the titles, em- penses as is their amount; besides these and all the other good things which are called Church Pro- perty, there were, voted out of the taxes, a hundred thousand pounds a year, for the relief of the poor clergy of the Church of England. This was done for twelve or fourteen years success- ively. Now, those sums must have come out of the taxes; for that we should think nothing of the taxes never were sufficient to the cost of the war, did that most cover the annual expences of the whole of the night; for that it had Government. And it not just, that presented us from "idleness," these sums, in any rate, should be and retained unto the "enjoy- ment of the blessed comforts of the Church of the Gospel." "Idleness." Very well, then. The sum of the amount of the taxes of the titles will not take any of the taxes, and the

property possessed by you; and, though the Parliament add these twelve or fourteen hundred thousand pounds, cannot the Parliament take it back again?

Whether you would lose by this application of the revenues of what is called the Church, we shall be better able to guess presently, when I have taken a review of the trial of poor Byrne, as illustrated by the recent transaction of the Right Reverend Father in God and the Soldier of the Foot Guards; but, I cannot dismiss the subject of your *temperatures* without adverting, for a moment, to the late affecting ejaculations of "*Lockhart the Brave*," who was so unmercifully *hissed* at that very meeting, at Winchester, of which I have spoken above. He was your mouth-piece upon that occasion; and a poor ballad he made of it. He now foresees utter ruin and degradation to that venerable body, which he then bawled for in vain. It is useless for him to foresee, and it is childish in him to lament.

Is he prepared to say, that you are to keep the tithes, though no rent be paid to the landlord? Is he prepared to say that? If he be not, it would be much better for him to turn parish priest, and administer to you the *extreme unction*; and a pretty smart parcel of it you will want, I can tell him. And, do you really expect, that the landlords will quietly walk off and leave you to enjoy all that farms yield besides the taxes, rates, wages, and tiller's food? If you can persuade the landlords to do this, I will say you are clever fellows; but, I do not believe it. However, which of you go down *first* is of no importance at all in my view of the matter. Convinced that all must now be done thoroughly; convinced that Peel's Blessed Bill will *thoroughly purge the floor*, I am quite easy as to the result, and the time and manner are things scarcely worthy of notice. When any step of importance is about to be taken, relative to your affairs, I shall be with you; and

never fail to remind you of your conduct at Winchester in 1817.

I now come to the second branch of my subject; namely, the affair of the Right Reverend *Father in God*, the Honourable Henry Jocelyn, Doctor of *Divinity*, Lord Bishop of Clogher, and Commissioner of the Board of Education, and the Soldier of the Royal Regiment of Guards, more particularly as that affair is illustrated by the trial of *James Byrne*, in Dublin, on the 28th of October 1811. This affair, as illustrated by the trial, is by far the most important that has been brought before the people of this kingdom for many years.

When it has happened, that any man amongst the *Reformers* has turned out to be a villain, or rogue, in private life, what an outcry has been set up by you all! The instances of this sort, numerous as the reformers are, have been very rare; but, whenever they have occurred what a clamour they have given rise to

"*There!*" you have exclaimed: "*there; see what their principles lead to!*" I am not going here upon vague assertion. Look into the two *Reports* of the *Collective* of 1817, made preparatory to the passing of *Sidmouth's Power-of-imprisonment Bill*. In these memorable Reports, it was asserted, that the reformers met together, drank *stuffy and impious* toasts, and sang songs of the same description; that their politics led to a dissoluteness of morals, and to an accompanying disregard for religion. This was all very pretty; but it was the foundation of laws to gag the press, and to enable *Sidmouth* and Co. to shut up in any prisons that they pleased any body that they pleased. No proof was produced of these charges; the Reports were made by secret committees, and when, by petition, proof of the falsehood of parts of the Reports was tendered and requested to be suffered to be produced at the bar of the House, such proof was not suffered to be produced! No names of the

guilty parties were mentioned. No opportunity for defence. No time allowed for the people to petition against the terrible measure. A dungeon, or flight, was the lot of every man, who was thought formidable to the THING.

Now, we do not proceed in this way with regard to *you* and the Right Reverend Father in God. We are *specific* in what we allege; we proceed not an inch without *proof*; and we give *names* and precise acts. The trial of the unhappy *Byrne* affords us a *specimen* of great value to us. I shall now take it, lay it before you, or, rather, thrust it up to your noses; and, at the same time, bid you remember *Winchester* in 1817; bid you remember, too, the *Tracts* of the "*Society for Promoting CHRISTIAN Knowledge*," in which *Tracts*, I am calumniated, and by *name* too, in the foulest manner. This mode of "promoting CHRISTIAN knowledge," is pursued by the Clergy of the "Church, as by *law established*." The sly and

sleek *Rivingtons* are their Tract-sellers and Publishers. Let them sell the *Tract* relating to the *Bishop and the Soldier*! In short, you have fought *against reform* with the *weapons of religion*; when we have called for the abating of political corruption, you have charged us with *blasphemy*. But, above all things, this has been your constant assertion, that, to hold your principles as to religion was absolutely necessary to ensure *good morals*.

We have recently seen, in the conduct of the Bishop, who had, according to his consecration, *received the Holy Ghost*; we have recently seen what effect religion had on *his morals* in London: let us now see what effect it had on his morals *eleven years ago*, when he was bishop of *Ferns*, and before he had received his *last promotion*. The account of the trial reaches us through the Irish newspapers. It is very short and imperfect. The charge against *Byrne* was, that he had *propagated a report* about the Bishop.

It does not say *how*; but, it would seem that it was *by letter* to our of his relations; the *Honourable* John Lordlyn, and also by statement to the then *Lord Mayor of Dublin*, for, it seems, that the Lord Mayor produced a written account of this statement in Court at the trial. In a case of *misdeemeanor*, this Lord Mayor takes the examination; nay, in a case of *private libel*, this Lord Mayor takes the examination of a *defendant*; and he brings that into Court to be evidence against him!

This appears to have been the nature of the whole of the evidence, except that of the *Bishop* himself; yes, except that of the *Right Reverend Father in God* himself, which will be found very interesting. You "*Spiritual persons*" are very tenacious of *titles*. You, in your formularies, published by *Rivingtons*, bid us say, *The Most Reverend* the Archbishops, *The Right Reverend* the Bishops, *The Very Reverend* the Deans, *The Reverend* the Priests and Deacons. I will not, there-

fore, disobey you. *The Right Reverend* shall have all his titles; please God; and especially while I am remarking on the evidence he gave upon this occasion.

Before the trial began the counsel for poor BYRNE, the conduct of which "*counsel*" was very pretty too, as we shall presently see; so that the *Law* comes into the thing as well as *after-bruicks*; the "*counsel*" for this poor man offered an *affidavit*, showing reasons why the cause should be delayed; and we will, if you please, begin with this affidavit, made by Mr. HENRY WALKER, Attorney for Mr. BYRNE, which was in the following words:

This Deponent saith, that about 16th October inst. deponent, on part of Traverser, offered two Housekeepers of the City of Dublin, each worth upwards of 100*l*. as deponent was informed and believes, as bail for the Traverser, but which bail the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, (who committed the Traverser to *Kilmainham Gaol*) refused to take, wherefore deponent was deprived of the assistance in preparing for his defence, that he could obtain from the Traverser, if he had had his liberty, as deponent verily believes. Saith, that about the 22*d*. of October inst. deponent caused the Traverser's case to be laid before counsel, whose opinion

he was not able to get until the 26th inst. and said Counsel having advised that it would be necessary to summon witnesses, one of whom, named Patrick Leonard, and whose testimony would be very material for the Traverser, as deponent believes, lives or resides fifty miles from Dublin, as deponent is informed and believes; deponent *could not have had witness served in due time so as to procure his testimony in this Honourable Court, or to have briefs prepared for Counsel, from the shortness of the time between getting Counsel's opinion and the day appointed for the trial of the Traverser, more especially as deponent has been informed and believes, that the indictment found against the Traverser contains upwards of 300 office sheets. Saith, he has been informed, and believes, that some papers which would be material for the Traverser on his trial, were taken or kept from him by the Lord Mayor at the time of his committal, and which deponent was not able to procure, although he, by the advice of his Counsel, wrote to his Lordship, and caused application to be made to him for them. And said deponent will use his best endeavours to procure the attendance of the said Patrick Leonard at the next Commission, and saith this application is not made for the purpose of delay merely, but to have an opportunity of procuring the attendance of said witness."*

Now, mind, this is a statement on oath. What the Lord Mayor said about the papers, of which this affidavit speaks, you, Reverend Sirs, will presently see. But, let us pause a little upon the other facts in this statement. *Bail!* What, bail for *private libel*, and

before trial too? And before the passing of Sir Acts? Was such a thing ever heard of before? Was this *law*? Oh! but the Lord Mayor would not take any bail: he sent the man to goal. Bail was offered; but, he would not take even *good bail* in a case of *private libel*!

How different the conduct of our Mr. Dyer! He had the "*Bill of Rights*" in his eye, the *New Times* tells us. He was compelled to take bail of the Bishop. The "*Liberty of the subject*," the *New Times* says, compelled him to take bail. The "*Bill of Rights*," was in full swing at Marlborough Street; and, really, if it were not to be guilty of "*blasphemy*," I would call this the *Right Reverend Bill*! Our Mr. Dyer, on the showing of Mr. Alley, took bail at once; without any hesitation; or, at any rate, with very little loss of time to the Right Reverend Father in God!

Mark, besides, Reverend Sirs, what the affidavit says about the time allowed poor Mr. BYRNE and

his Attorney. Mark, in short, the whole of the statement in this honest Attorney's affidavit; and, when you have well considered it all, read the following account, imperfect as it is, of the trial. You see, Reverend Hampshire Parsons, that the account is very short; that a great deal is suppressed; that poor Mr. BYRNE'S "*counsel*" **FLUNG UP THEIR BRIEFS!** Oh, God! But, let me poke up the trial under your noses before I make any further remarks on it. Watch, I beseech you, Reverend Sirs, the speech of the *Solicitor General*, who is now the *Lord Chief Justice in Ireland*; mark his praises of the "*noble stock*" of the *Father in God*.—But, I am anticipating; and must now insert the account of the "*trial*," which took place at a Commission of Oyer and Terminer in Dublin, on the 28th October 1811.

JAMES BYRNE stood indicted on two separate charges:—For having himself devised and published a libel, accusing the Bishop of Ferns of an attempt to commit an unnatural crime; and having joined in a conspiracy, the object of which

was to villify the Bishop by calumnies of that nature.

Counsel for the prisoner offered an affidavit showing reasons why the case should be delayed, that certain writings necessary for evidence had been withheld by the Lord Mayor on the prisoner's examination before him; that, although prisoner had offered bail on his commitment being first proposed by the Lord Mayor, his Lordship did not think proper to accept of it, which circumstance had not allowed the prisoner's attorney to make the necessary preparations; and that Patrick Leonard, a man whose evidence was material in the case, was at such a distance from Dublin as to make it impossible for him to be produced.

It was stated, however, by the Lord Mayor, that there had been no papers of the prisoner's detained by him, and it was stated by the Solicitor-General, Counsel for the prosecution, that Leonard, so far from being at an inconvenient distance, was at the moment in the Court; that there could therefore be found no proper cause why the trial should be delayed.

The Jury was therefore sworn.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL rose, and proceeded to the following effect:—

Gentlemen of the Jury, from my knowledge of the circumstances of the evidence, I do not doubt but I shall be able to connect the whole for your examination in such a manner as will enable me to support the indictment, and leave no doubt upon your minds of the commission of one of the most profligate and detestable crimes that ever disgraced human nature. We have frequently heard of the unnatural guilt of which mention is made in the indictment, but it is one which we have hardly or never had occasion to have *one's feelings shocked with*; and though from the proximity of a

neighbouring Isle to the Continent of Europe, and the great facility with which the corrupted manners of the Continent are introduced, the instances there are not a few, the contagion never yet has reached us, and there is no instance of its existence in the memory of any professional man. Much less have we been even called upon to witness a crime if possible still more horrid, and still more humiliating to human nature, the shocking criminality of *falsely imputing* to an innocent person the guilt of that disgusting and unnatural offence. In England this is a practice which has been frequently adopted, and, I lament to say, with too frequent success; in order to extort money from those who the wretches supposed would rather pay any sum which might be demanded of them than have their names even come into contact in a public Court with such a crime; and it is well known that this practice has grown into such frequent use, that wretches have been known to gain a subsistence by the means of it, and it was found necessary to enact a law in that country inflicting the severest punishment upon those who so far degraded themselves. It never will be considered by us a matter of misfortune that such a law has not been enacted in this country. We may congratulate ourselves that necessity has never yet called for it, and that our island has been hitherto free from such humiliating criminality.—But the instance is aggravated. The accusation is made upon an exalted and venerable character, who, though raised to one of the highest dignities of the Church, is still *less exalted by his rank than he is by the uniform piety of his life*, and who ennobles by his virtues that high station which, without them, would only place him as a fitter mark for the shafts of obloquy. He is of a family of high rank, distinguished in every rank for the generous, noble,

and beneficent conduct, which ought to characterize those who are placed in a situation which makes them have an extensive influence by their example and services upon society, and whose feelings could in no way be more severely branded than by an imputation of the slightest wavering from the paths of rectitude in any of its members.

The Learned Gentleman, having at great length stated the manner in which the prisoner had made the charge, continued.—“I do not think I would do justice to the respected and revered character of my client, by saying I have evidence to disprove what this miscreant has uttered—when I think of a man whose rank shed a lustre upon him, adored by all those who know him for those virtues—on the Reverend bench which he adorns never sat a man of more exalted honour. I would call the attention of the Jury to every act of his life, and they would find them marked by the display of virtue, piety, and benevolence. When I consider the noble family to which he belongs, so numerous, and so beloved—when I look upon the head of the family, so great and estimable in character—when I consider how his life has been employed; a life repeatedly and voluntarily risked in defence of his country; when I consider the other noble branches of this stock, and reflect upon the unsullied purity of their sires; I should apologize for saying that there is the most undeniable evidence to prove, that every tittle which this most atrocious wretch has alleged is utterly false. I am sure I may safely claim for the Bishop the thanks of the community, because he was to have been the first victim of the accursed conspiracy. In England some of the first characters have yielded to it; it has become a frequent offence, and but few have had the firmness to oppose it; to this Noble family, there-

fore, the public are greatly indebted; and if the Bishop had compounded his own honour, I knew not the man who could resist. Now from all the facts which have been proved, I anticipate your ready verdict."

The Honourable John Jocelyn was examined, and proved all the facts in which he was concerned, as stated by the Solicitor-General; and he identified all the letters he had received from the prisoner. On his cross-examination by Mr. RIDGEWAY, said the letters were all sealed when they came to his hand, and they were received in the county of Louth.

The Lord Mayor gave evidence to the examination which took place before his Lordship, and handed in a written statement of what the prisoner had said in his presence, which was made by his Lordship's clerk, and read to the prisoner, who acknowledged it was correct. His Lordship observed, that there was a savage ferocity about him that never was surpassed.

His Lordship was cross-examined by Mr. WALLACE, relative to his authority and jurisdiction for interfering in cases between master and servant.

Here the statement made by the prisoner was given to be read, but its tendency was such that it was not made public.

Mr. Johnson, attorney, proved the payment of wages to the prisoner, &c.

The Hon. the Lord Bishop of Ferns examined:—

Witness remembers to have met the prisoner in Sackville-street. Prisoner passed witness, and took off his hat; he asked him if he had left his master—he said he had; desired him, as witness had but one servant in town, to come next morning to wash the carriage. On Thursday morning witness went to the stable, and saw pri-

soner on the top of the carriage, cleaning it; the carriage, at this time, was half in the lane; witness did not remain there at the utmost more than three minutes and a half; did not see him again that day; called next morning, which was Friday, and gave him a letter to take to the Rev. Mr Harpur, Monkstown; did not see him then more than four or five minutes, when he desired him to bring post-horses to leave town the next morning—did not see him again that day. Witness, in the course of Friday, found that a letter he had written to Mr. Merge to the country, did not reach him until the day after he expected it would, and therefore he could not leave town on Saturday, as he intended. On Saturday morning, when the post-horses came, he desired them to be sent away, and directed that the prisoner should be sent in, to be paid for what he had done that morning, when the witness gave him some silver. Prisoner did not remain in the room more than few minutes, and never was in the room after. Witness left town, AFTER CHURCH, the next morning.

Question by the SOLICITOR-GENERAL—Did your Lordship take or use any indecent familiarity with his person?—No.

Did your Lordship use any obscene or indecent conversation with him?—I did not. I am not in the habit of doing so.

Are the contents of that paper, which contains his charges against your Lordship, true or false?—His Lordship rose, and in the most impressive and dignified manner placed his hand upon his breast, and said "false."

Here the Counsel for the prisoner declined to cross-examine his Lordship, and, intimated to the Court THAT THEY HAD GIVEN UP THE CASE.

Mr. Justice Fox then proceeded

to pass sentence to the following effect—

James Byrne, you have been found guilty of a libel against the Bishop of Ferns, imputing to his Lordship an attempt to commit what is emphatically called an Unnatural Crime. You have also been found guilty, that, not confining to your own breast the horrid malignity of your mind, you did conspire, with others unknown, to impute to the said Right Rev. Prelate the horrid charge. I really am obliged to pause for words to express in any adequate terms the feelings of my mind—feelings which are painted in the countenances of every person in the Court, at the extreme audacity of hardened guilt, that could induce you to impute a crime of this nature to such a man. I speak not to you for the purpose of exciting contrition, for it is impossible but that a heart which could imagine—a mind which could mark for destruction—a character of such sanctified purity, must be utterly impenetrable to shame. You have caused an exposure in this Court of a crime which can scarcely be thought of without horror and amazement—you have sought to asperse a Clergyman of the Established Religion, raised by his Sovereign to the highest station in our Church—elevated still higher by those virtues which are not made known by the casual ebullition of a day or of years, but by the whole period of a life devoted to the uniform exercise of every duty which becomes a man and a Christian—elevated by religion and education, and by those principles which, if he departed from them, would have made his guilt greater than that of ordinary men. What motive could mark out to your mind an individual so exalted, to whom you were scarcely known, and with whom no probability of such an intercourse could exist? You have acted with a degree of guilty phrenzy, with horrid and unprincipled villany,

and, soaring above all idea of probability of being believed, you have given vent to so wicked a calumny that no idea is too horrible to be formed of you. That you, not the servant of the Bishop of Ferns, should be so infatuated as to expect that you should for a moment make it be accredited that guilt of such a nature could make its way into such a mind, is astonishing, and I believe your effrontery is unprecedented. It may be, that you have been advised to do so, and how could the wicked folly of advice induce you to attack an individual so unassailable, whose character would be sufficient to repel such a charge? Your crime is aggravated, if possible, by your attempt to involve the malignity of your calumny into the private feeling of a Noble Family, so justly and so universally beloved. Under such feelings they acted consistent with the whole tenor of their lives. They have come forward to give evidence at the expense of those feelings which they must be more than men if they did not possess—they did not enter into a compromise with your villany—but they boldly stepped forward to meet your charge in a Court of Justice. The sacred person who was the object of your malignity has unnecessarily produced himself in this Court, to give the sanction of his name and his virtues to an investigation of a charge which aimed against him the most deadly injury. It has already been mentioned that terror has frequently influenced the minds of men under charges of this kind to yield to the demands of miscreants. I mention this to contrast the dignity of mind, the purity of sentiment of those who disdained any compromise with guilt. That Noble Family possess an honourable ascendancy in this country, and never did they earn their high reputation better than when, instead of yielding to the threats, they dragged them into light, to deter other miscreants. It remains

for me to pronounce the sentence of the law which your crime is to be visited with; I regret that I cannot make it more adequate to your guilt, but it is necessary that you should feel, for the purpose of deterring others from following so bad an example.

Your sentence is, that you, James Byrne, be imprisoned in the gaol of Kilmainham, for two years, from this date; that you are to be whipped three times at such periods as I shall appoint: and at the expiration of the two years you enter into security for your future conduct, yourself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 200*l.* each.

Counsel for the Crown.—The Solicitor General and Messrs. M'Cartney, Parsons, Joy, M'Nally, and Green.—Agent, Mr. Guest. Counsel for the Prisoner.—Messrs. Ridgeway and Wallace.—Agent, Mr. Walker.

FROM THE PAPERS OF MONDAY,
NOV. 4, 1811.

Byrne, the person who preferred the unwarrantable charge, of which our readers are already aware, against the Bishop of Ferns, received a severe flogging on Saturday, as part of a punishment he had been sentenced to endure for the flagrant act.

There it is, Reverend Sirs! Chew the cud on it! Take a turn; and now look at it again. The thing is so very complete, and the public are so enlightened, as to the matter, that I do not feel disposed to make remarks on this valuable paper at any length. But, it is impossible not to look a little at certain parts of it. And

first on what is said about the "noble stock" and the head of the family of this paragon of "virtue, piety and benevolence." It is quite misfortune enough to be in anywise related to such a man; but, when the character of his family is put forward, as it was here, by the Judge as well as by the Pleader, we have a right just to observe, that this head of the family, the brother of the Father in God, the late *Earl of Roden*, held, during the greater part of his life, two sinecures, namely, *Auditor General of the Exchequer*, and *Searcher and Gauger of the Port of Galway*, which I think (for I have not the book at hand) yielded him about *five thousand pounds a-year*! So much for that; and not another word respecting it is wanted.

As to the rest of this "noble stock" I, at present, do not know much about them; but, I will endeavour to know what they are as to "public services," since the "learned gentleman" thought proper to bring forward those ser-

vice, in order to weigh against poor Byrne. As to the speech of the Judge it is so much like so many that we have heard on other occasions, that it is worthy of no particular notice, except as it contains a hint or two that might, one would have thought, have suggested themselves to the "counsel" for the prisoner. The Judge, addressing himself to Byrne says: "What motive could mark out to your mind an individual so exalted, to whom you were scarcely known, and with whom no probability of such an intercourse could exist? Your conduct is astonishing."

Astonishing indeed, if the charge of Byrne were false! To have made such a charge *falsely*, under such circumstances, the man must have been mad; and he was *not* mad! Was there nothing here for the "counsel" to work on? Could they not find a word to say? Was the bold pertinacity of Byrne, which the Judge called *effrontery* and the Lord Mayor "*savage ferocity*;"

was this nothing in the way of presumption in Byrne's favour? What motive, indeed, could he have but indignation? What could induce him to think that the story would be believed; what, but that he knew it to be true? Is it not manifest, that, the more incredible a thing is in itself; the less likely a thing is to be believed; is it not manifest, that precisely in proportion to its incredibility is the improbability of its being *deliberately* hatched? Hatched stories have always plausibility about them. If they be things contrived, they are furnished before hand with something in the way of props and supports. Some truth is generally taken as a peg to hang a lie on. But here there was no prop to the story. It was true, or it was a hatched lie; and the astonishing thing was, that it should be hatched. Yet, the "Counsel," the "learned Friends" could find not a word to say; and, the moment the Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God, who

they recollecting, doubtless, but against him. Really, however, revised the *Holy Ghost* at his occupation; the moment HE declared the imputation to be false, they sang up the name of their unhappy client!

And now we come to his evidence. He was very particular in stating the number of minutes, that he was with the man. "Churchill" learned in the law could not perceive, that this minuteness, in this case, was something very wonderful. They could not see, that to recollect the three minutes and a *HALF* was a very surprising thing. They could not see, that much time was not necessary. And even the Judge does not seem to have perceived, that *Bruce not being* in the service of the Bishop was a circumstance that rendered the story credible, because it rendered the hatching of it incredible. Was the Soldier in the service of the Bishop? Yet, if the Soldier had had the honest feeling of Bruce about him, just the same arguments might have been used

against him. Really, however, as I think of Lawyers generally, I do believe, that there might have been found Lawyers in England, who would not have objected to cross-examine the Bishop, and who would not have sang up their brief, and, thereby, have acknowledged the guilt of their client!

As to the swearing of the Right Reverend Father in God; as to the swearings of this man, "adored by all those who know him for these virtues, and them whom, on the nearest Bench, which he adorns, never sat man of more exalted honour;" as to his swearings, rising, at the time, "in the most dignified manner, and placing his hand upon his breast;" as to these swearings, they were absolutely necessary to self-preservation; but the "benevolence" of the Right Reverend Father in God; that "benevolence" which Mr. Dashi, the Solicitor-General, ascribed to him in such large quantities as to his "benevolence," looked like riding home to his father's house.

(*but going to Church first*;) riding home to his Episcopal Palace and leaving Byrne to be *flogged half to death*, and to pass *two years in a dungeon*, while his wife and children were starving! Only think of this "*benevolence*," Reverend Hampshire Parsons! Only think of this "*benevolence*" in the Right Reverend Father in God!

Well: but *bail* made part of the sentence. *Three floggings* (and the Soldier in the North was made to know *what flogging is*) and *two years dungeon*; but, *bail besides*. Aye, and almost as heavy *bail* as our Mr. Dyer took of this very Bishop himself, when charged, *on the oaths of seven witnesses*, of the very offence, "*too horrible to be named*," that Byrne had imputed to him! Five hundred pounds *bail for life* (for it is for *future conduct*) with *two sureties* in a bond of 200*l.* each! Within a hundred pounds of the sureties that Mr. Dyer, our Mr. Dyer, took for the Bishop! Where was Byrne, a *convict*, flogged

through the streets, and coming out of a two years' dungeon, to get bail for 400*l.*? Where was he to get this? Accordingly the Irish papers state, that, at the *end of the two years*, he lay nearly *three months* in his dungeon for want of bail! And the *Bill of Rights* all the time in existence.

Thus, Hampshire Parsons, have I held this thing up to your noses, in return for many and many parson-like acts that I have received from you. It has been stated in print over and over again, that the Right Reverend Father in God is a Member of the Prosecuting Society, called the *Society for the Suppression of Vice*. This has not been publicly *denied*. He is very likely to be a Member of the Society for Promoting *Christian Knowledge*. Let those Societies publish the names of the Members. When Mrs. Wright comes up for judgment, she ought, if she find him to be a Member of the Prosecuting Society, to demand *an ex trial*; or, at least, to make a *grand stand* upon her old

ground; namely, that the profession of the Bishop is not inseparable from morality. That she will do her duty, there is no doubt. I do not agree with her in her notions about religion; but, I agree, most fully, with her as to her *right to publish* those notions, and I admire her constancy in maintaining them.

In the mean while, let me recommend to you, and to all Parsons, to read Mr. Carlyle's pamphlet, the *Republican*, of the 2nd of August. It will do your very hearts good. Give it to your parishioners to read. They will find out a great deal from it; and they will not want to trouble you much in future. I expected that the fire-shovel hats would *get it* in that Number; and they have *got it*, and laid on with a heavy hand! It would have been out of nature, if *Dorchester Gaol* had been silent on such an occasion. The "*Tract*" gentry have *got a blow* too; and, it was high time. You may not perceive, perhaps, how this thing affects your *tithes*;

but, it does; and affect them deeply too. Every thing seems to conspire for the success of the measure which is to be proposed relative to those tithes; and, as this is the part, where you are *tender*, where you are *raw*, I like to touch it.

The following police report, from the papers of Monday week, is too good to be *lost*, and it cannot be in better keeping than yours. Take it, therefore, as another token of my remembrance of your conduct at Winchester in 1817.

BOW-STREET.—Saturday, William Butterfield, a musician in the Guards, and a chimney-sweep, both in the uniform of their professions, preferred a charge of assault, &c. against Mrs. McIntire.

From the evidence of Butterfield, it appeared, that in passing through New Round-court, in the Strand, that morning, while a crowd had assembled there, he met with the prisoner, and accidentally came in contact with her, upon which she assailed him, and threw him against the sweep, and then raised the cry of "*the Soldier and the Bishop!*" and used many other gross terms, for which, more than the assault, the two complainants brought the prisoner before the Magistrates.

Butterfield stated, that he had

been thirty-six years in the army, and never until then *was suspected or charged* with having any *connection with the clergy or chimney-sweeps.*

Mister Harris, the honest chimney-sweep, designated as a Bishop, said:—"What that ere *Gemmen* says is true; I wants to know why this here woman calls me a *Bishop*? I gets my living honestly as a sweep, and not as a Bishop, and I keeps a wife and five children; and though I bees always called a *clergyman* and belonging to the cloth, and that ere sort of things, I be no Bishop—and I never in my born days was disrespected as a Bishop till this here business at Marlborough-street Office took place, and I was no more concerned in that job than any of your Honours."

Mr. Halls assured the clergyman that he was not suspected of being a Bishop, upon which *Mister Harris* proceeded by stating in his own manner, that he and all those of his business could not now walk the streets without having the term "*Bishop*" applied to them, which, from a recent transaction, he considered *most disgraceful to his profession*, as a chimney-sweep, and concluded his oration by saying:—"I gets my living by working, and not like a Bishop, and I claims your Honour's protection against that ere vile word."

This is descriptive of the state of things in which we are. And, now, what have you gained by the long and dreadful strife against *Jacobins* and *Radicals*? The

whole fight has been a *fight against reform*. Do you think, that the nation does not see this?

The consequence is, that the people rejoice in *every thing*, be it what it may in its own nature, *that tends to pull down those who have kept reform from them.*

This is, or, at least, it was, well worthy of your attention. The very affair, which I have now been remarking on, would, in former times, and only five years ago, have been seen with very different eyes than it is seen with at present. Millions who now laugh while they detest the offender, would, before, 1817, have been filled with sorrow, at this very transaction. If those who have it in their power to give *Reform* were *wise*, they would think of this; and would, in time, act accordingly. As to you, your day really seems to be passed.

The breach seems to be too wide, not between you and the people, but between you and the *fund-holders*. There is no way, it appears to me, of satisfying both.

However, it is all your own affair. It is a thing in which the great body of the people have no other interest than that which is excited by a desire to see fair play. I now take my leave of you until some measure be proposed for reforming the affairs of the Church; which will be as soon as the Collectors shall be again collected.

WM. COBBETT.

SOLDIER DEAD FROM FLOGGING.

This is one of the most horrible things ever heard of in a "Christian" country. The *Morning Chronicle* has an excellent Article on the subject; but I have no room for it; nor have I, at present, room for any remarks of my own, in addition to those that I have made in the *Statesman*.—I take this opportunity (for want of a better place) to express my great satisfaction at the manner in which the public have shown their sense of the merits of the *States-*

man. They have not confined themselves to empty thanks; but have shown by the increased demand for the paper, that they are resolved, that there shall be *no daily paper* at any rate, on the fidelity of which reliance can be placed.

INQUEST AT YORK.

FROM "THE YORK COURIER" ON
TUESDAY, JULY 30th.

In our last we stated that a Coroner's Inquest had been held by Mr. Cowling of this city on the previous Monday, (the 22d inst.) at the York Barracks, over the body of John Furnel, a private in the 2d or Queen's regiment of Foot, who had been flogged at Hull, and within one week afterwards removed to our Barracks, where he lingered in great torture till Friday week, when death closed his earthly sufferings. The inquest was, however, adjourned till yesterday, and we therefore were not able to give any official information on the subject in our last; but as it is our duty, we now lay the purport of the whole before the public.

The inquest on Monday week commenced at about half-past eleven in the forenoon, and the only witness then examined was Mr. Andrew Browne, a Surgeon in the 2d Dragoon Guards, now stationed in our Barracks, and under whose medical care the deceased had been placed on his arrival. The purport of his evidence was as follows,—that the man had received 300 lashes for an offence at Hull, the exact nature of which he was not fully acquainted with; that about seven days afterwards, the regiment being removed to a camp, the de-

ceased was conveyed to York on a baggage cart; that the deceased informed the witness, that a servant, whilst removing the port-manteau from the baggage cart, on the march, let it fall upon his back; that a mortification ensued, but that it ceased on the 11th; that had the man been able to have taken sufficient support, he might have recovered; that he believed he sunk under debility, which debility might have owed its origin to a three years' residence in the West Indies. He, however, acknowledged, that when the man was removed from Hull, the weather was extremely hot, and that he must have been much jolted on the baggage cart.

Colonel Kearney, of the Dragoons, now stepped forward and said, that in the absence of every one connected with the 2d Regiment of Foot, he was anxious to express his full conviction that the officers of that regiment were generally men of very kind and humane dispositions, and men who, he was quite certain, would not wilfully act a cruel part.

Two witnesses belonging to the 2d Regiment of Foot being expected from Ireland, the inquest was adjourned till Monday the 29th day of July, at two o'clock.

Before the Jury left the room, however, Mr. Browne, the surgeon, re-entered, and announced that he had just opened the body, and that he found the lungs in a state of putrefaction. On that account he wished the Jury to inspect the same, and give their opinion on the subject. Some of the Jury went up stairs, and one of them, on his return into the jury-room, stated, that the whole body was in a state of putrefaction, and therefore the lungs were so only as a natural result. He, however, added, "that the man's bones were as bare of skin and flesh,

as if his back had been scraped with a knife." The Jury then dispersed, and the remains of the deceased were interred in Fulford churchyard at two o'clock the same afternoon.

SECOND DAY, SATURDAY, JULY 27.

Although the Inquest had been adjourned to Monday, yet the witnesses having arrived on Friday, and expressed great anxiety to return to Ireland as soon as possible, Mr. Cowling summoned the Jury to assemble at three o'clock on Saturday afternoon, which they accordingly did, and the examination proceeded.

Andrew Browne, the Surgeon of the 2d Dragoons, not having opened the body when last examined, was now questioned relative thereto. His evidence, however, on the subject amounted to nothing; for he acknowledged that though he found the lungs in a state of disease, that might have occurred subsequent to the punishment.

Henry Waring, the Lieutenant and active Adjutant of the Second Regiment of Foot, deposed, that the said regiment was in the garrison at Hull, in June; and that on the 21st of that month, the deceased was tried by a Court Martial, "for a highly irregular and unsoldier-like conduct, in having in his possession a silver spoon or spoons, the property of the Officers' Regimental Mess, between the 1st and 14th of June, and offering to dispose of the same, knowing it or them to have been improperly come by." That the man was found *Guilty*, and sentenced to receive 300 lashes.—That the sentence being confirmed by the Commanding Officer, Lieut. Col. Jordan, it was carried into effect on the 22d of June. That no more lashes were inflicted than the sentence autho-

nited, and that the deceased was then sent to the hospital, which is about a mile from the garrison.—That on the 27th of June the regiment marched from Hull to York: that he rode on the baggage cart, but that he walked from York to the barracks.

Maurice Alexander, the Surgeon of the Second Regiment of Foot, confirmed the above, and said that only one sick man had been left behind, but that if he had thought the deceased unable to travel, he also should have been left. Witness examined the back of the deceased at Beverley, after the *first day's march* and dressed it.—He then appeared to be doing well.—After the *second day's march*, he saw the deceased at Market Weighton.—He then complained of his back, and, on examination, the witness found that a *mortification* had commenced, and that the deceased was labouring under a smart fever. The back of the deceased was dressed, and proper medicines were administered. The next morning the mortification had increased, but the fever had subsided—witness, however, did not know of any proper medical gentleman, (meaning, we suppose, an army surgeon,) under whose care he could leave the deceased, and he therefore was taken to York. The deceased complained of having received a hurt on the baggage cart—and the witness concluded by acknowledging that the weather was extremely hot during the march.

Thus closed the evidence, and the Jury, after due consideration, returned a verdict—THAT THE DECEASED RECEIVED THREE HUNDRED LASHES, AND THAT HE DIED OF THE SAME, AND OF THE FEVER, MORTIFICATION, AND DEBILITY, ARISING THEREFROM.

THE BISHOP AND THE SOLDIER.

From "THE STATESMAN."

Thursday, August 1.

Sir, Cloyne, July 25, 1822.

Understanding that some of the public prints have made a *serious mistake* in writing the title of Cloyne instead of Clogher in a late charge of a gross nature, against a Bishop, you will be pleased to remove any doubt, and rectify the mistake. The Bishop of Cloyne has not been in England this year, but constantly resident in his diocese, devising means for the support of the starving poor, and piously exercising the various duties of his sacred station.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
JAMES KINGSTON,
Vicar-General of the Diocese of Cloyne.

This shows how necessary it was to name the party; and this we saw from the beginning. We are aware, that some persons may say, "Yes; but, if it had not been for you (who 'wish to overthrow' the established authorities of the country) there would have been no need of saying any thing in the way of removing mistakes; for, the whole thing would have been smothered; and, perhaps, the rumourers might have had to suffer for sedition and blasphemy." Very well; but, the thing is out. It is out. Bottle it up, if you can.

It is a nice affair for *summer reading*. The *trial* will fill up a fortnight; and we shall see how the *Old Times* will get on with that.

SIR, Dublin, July 24, 1822.

THE sensation of *horror* with which the account respecting the wretched Bishop of *Clogher* was received in this country, is not to be described. It was felt as a case peculiarly aggravated, in consequence of the *prosecution* which he instituted about five years since against his own coachman, who was charged with and found guilty of scandalizing him by the imputation of the crime in which he has been now detected. The man was sentenced to be *publicly whipped*; and such was the public indignation against the *supposed falsehood* and malignity of his offence, that the sentence was carried into effect against him with a *vindictive severity* that put a period to his existence. He was literally almost *cut to pieces*: and it was thought that he did not get half what he deserved. Do you not think that this is a case that peculiarly calls for public sympathy? *Yes, for God's sake make such a representation of it as may draw the notice of the generous and humane to the pitiable and forlorn condition of the widow and orphans of the unfortunate man, that some effort may be made to compensate them for the rest of their lives for the loss of a husband and father, and to make, as far as it is possible to do so, some amends for the ignominy and bereavement with which they have been so unjustly and cruelly visited.*

Oh! It is the *Morning Chronicle* that is to do this! But where would have been the knowledge of the thing *at all*, if the conduct of the *Morning Chronicle* had been imitated, and its doctrine of

hushing had been adopted by the STATESMAN? Thus have we here two most striking instances in proof (from the *Chronicle* itself) of the abominableness of its doctrine and the soundness of ours; of the *badness* of its conduct in this case, and of the *goodness* of ours.

Friday.

Every day brings something new to light on this horrid subject. The following Article from the *Dublin Herald*, of Friday last, appears to contain the truth with regard to the existence of Mr. Byrne, the unfortunate victim of the Bishop; but, we beg our readers to observe, not less the victim of that system of smothering which it has been our duty as it has been our pride, throughout this horrible affair to break through.

"As the pen has been employed on the monstrous and beastly deed perpetrated in London by one of our 'Dignitaries' of the Church, a Member of the Society for discountenancing Vice, one of the Board of Education, a Bible Distributor, and a stanch hater of Popery, we feel it unnecessary to do more than advert to the detestable subject, in this place, for the purpose of saying a word, about poor unfortunate Byrne, who had languished in gaol for two years, and had been nearly flogged to death in our streets, through the perjuries of the

monster, who if he escape any worse punishment, is now at length consigned to lasting banishment and ignominy.

"There was a report that this innocent and grievously injured man was dead. He had suffered the agonies of a thousand deaths, but is still living—an extern or intern patient in Stephens's Hospital. His crime was the whispering of a report that the miscreant who is at length detected had attempted to perpetrate a certain atrocity in this country. For this he was tried and found guilty entirely on the evidence of the wretch, whose theatrical attitude arising and calling on the God of truth and justice to hear his words, while he pledged himself before his country, and on the Holy Evangelists, that he had been falsely accused, has not yet left the minds of numerous citizens who were spectators.—The sentence was two years' imprisonment, and two or three floggings. The incarceration was fully completed and ended, and under one flogging he bled and tortured until the last spark of life and feeling had nearly become extinct. When he had recovered and was on the eve of getting a second flogging, a steward of the monster came to him, and offered a remission of the impending punishment, on the condition of Byrne's signing a written acknowledgment of his having been guilty of slander and falsehood. Who, that was not prepared to die of the agonies of the rack, could refuse a signature under such circumstances? The poor creature, it may be supposed, was not slow in putting his trembling hand to the paper—and he was mercifully spared a punish-

ment of which ~~it was~~ a thousand to one he would not have survived the infliction.

"Now this hapless being half dragged out life since, we are not able to state. For aught we know, the ruin of character consequent upon a conviction such as this, compelled him to pick up his morsel in the streets. If there be an atom of feeling in a human being belonging to the monster, his days, shortened as they have been, will be rendered at least a little less miserable. We consider him an object deserving of general commiseration and sympathy, and we should be glad to forward, and to contribute to, a subscription set on foot for his relief. He is we learn, a native of Dundalk—and a man, though he had been a servant, of some education, and very decent parentage."

Monday.

The Soldier is still in prison, notwithstanding the hint of the *New Times*, that, "if bail were offered for him before the Sessions, it must be taken." This is very true; but for the Soldier to be where the Bishop now is, there must be two things take place: he must get a discharge, or he must desert, and he must, after that, get a passport! These seem impossible; and, therefore, it is not likely, that the hint of Doctor STODDART will be attended with any other effect, than that of drawing down on the Doctor a

little more contempt than he had to support before.

We announced to the indignant public, in our very first article on this subject, that a man had been severely punished in Ireland for having charged this same Bishop with an attempt to commit a similar offence in that country. At last, the public have before it, and in the columns of the "respectable" corrupt press too, an account of the trial upon that occasion. Justice is now called for in behalf of the poor sufferer and his wife and children. We hope that justice may be obtained for them, as far as it is possible to do them justice. But if they do obtain it, whom will they have to thank for it? Not the "respectable part of the press;" not any of those, who, in either of the places, are usually so ready to ask questions for their own factional purposes; not "the zealous Friends of the Queen," who have, upon this occasion, been as silent as mice in cheese, and who appear to have a perfect tenderness for every thing belonging to the regiment. No: to none of these will BYRNE and his family owe justice, if they obtain it; but to us, and to us only. It is clear as daylight, that, if we had not, with resolute hand, stripped off the

veil, the thing would be hidden for ever; and, of course, BYRNE would have gone to his grave without anything to rub out the marks of the lashes on his back.

We have now, one would think, a pretty good proof of the utility, of the necessity, of dragging such things to light; and an equally good proof of the unsoundness of that doctrine of the *Morning Chronicle* which would make us believe, that such things are to be smothered, because to communicate a knowledge of them produces more evil in the way of contamination than the punishment of them can do good in the way of terrific example. The administration of justice; impartiality here; justice to those who had been oppressed and scourged to varnish over the guilt of the new offending party; these do not seem to have at all entered into the view of the *Chronicle* upon this occasion. BYRNE may possibly now obtain justice in some shape or other; but, is it possible, that he ever could have obtained it, if the STATESMAN had, in this case, acted on the principle of the *Chronicle*?

It must have been known to many Members of both Houses of Parliament, that this trial took place in Ireland. Indeed, it has

now been known a fortnight to every man in London. This trial took place there *before* the Bishop was raised from the Bishopric of *Ferns* to that of *Clogher*! Here was a case, then! Take it, altogether, *Soldier* and *Byrne* and *Bail*, and the rest of it, and who can remember such a case? Who can remember any thing so loudly calling for *Parliamentary inquiry*? How could any Minister have resisted inquiry, if it had been moved for? And yet, not a motion or question from any living soul.

However, there can now be no *smothering*. The whole will come out, *bail* and all, before the thing is over. The Public are, upon this occasion, much indebted to Mr. PARKINS, who has been laudably vigilant in watching the workings of the THING. The strange fact, stated by the *New Times*, that not a word of the matter reached Mr. PEARL'S Office, till *after* the Bishop was at large, has *astounded* many persons! How the *passport* could have been so quickly obtained has been a subject of surprise with every

one. The reasons why the Bishop cannot be *brought back* do not appear quite clear to many persons. And it is by no means evident to all the world, that the Bishop was out of the country so soon as the "*respectable*" and corrupt press told us he was. However, *time* and our vigilance will clear all up. A trial in *open Court*, with the *bail openly called on* to produce the party or forfeit their recognizances; these will put us in possession of all that we shall want to know. The trial in a *cheap* form, circulated throughout the Kingdom, will finish the thing; and, never was there any more legitimate object for a *subscription* than that of causing a knowledge of this thing to be spread about. Men subscribe, and women too, to circulate *lies* and calumnies, under the name of *religious tracts*. Surely, we ought to subscribe to circulate *truth* with regard to those who thus subscribe. There will be time enough to adopt an effectual plan for this purpose: and, therefore, we quit the subject for the present.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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Vol. 43.—No. 7.] LONDON, SATURDAY, August 17, 1823. (Price 6d.)

TO JOSEPH SWANN.

Who was sentenced by the Magistrates of Cheshire to four YEARS AND A HALF imprisonment in Chester Gaol, for selling Pamphlets and being present at a Meeting for Parliamentary Reform; who was imprisoned many Weeks, for WANT OF BAIL, before his Trial; who has now TWO YEARS OF HIS IMPRISONMENT UNEXPIRED; and who, when Imprisoned, had a Wife and four helpless Children.

Kensington, 15 August 1823.

MR. SWANN,

CASTLEREAGH HAS CUT HIS OWN THROAT, AND IS DEAD! Let that sound reach you in the depth of your dungeon; and let it carry consolation

to your suffering soul! Of all the victims, you have suffered most. We are told of the poignant grief of Lady Castlereagh; and, while he must be a brute indeed, who does not feel for her, what must he be, who does not feel for your wife and your four helpless children, actually torn from you when you were first thrown into the dismal cells!

However, we shall have time to say more of your case hereafter. Let me, at present, address you on the subject of Castlereagh. I am about to insert the Report of the Inquest on his body; but, I will first state to you certain matters, which ought to be remembered, and which will pass away, unless we, at once, put them on record. The mover of Six-Acts cut his throat last Monday morning about seven o'clock. The

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COURIER of that night gave an account of his death; but stated it to have arisen from *gout in the stomach*. Now, mind, the writer must have told this lie wilfully, or he must *purposely have been misinformed*. A design, therefore, must, at one time, have existed somewhere to *smother the truth*.

A cut throat is, however, no such easy thing to smother, and especially, where there is a *house full of servants*, all with tongues in their mouths. Therefore, the COURIER's lie was, the next day, abandoned; and the truth, as to the deed itself, came out. Before, however, we quit this lie of the COURIER, let us again remark, that it must have been *intentional*. NORTH CRAY, a little village in Kent, where the throat was cut, is only about *two hours ride* from London. A King's Messenger was in the house at the time, as is, I believe, the case constantly, with the Ministers who are Secretaries of State. At any rate there were stables full of horses; and you must know, that, at the Office

of Castlebreagh at Whitehall, the COURIER would have some account, true or false. If, therefore, he got the true account, the lie was his own; and yet, seeing what risk he ran of almost instant detection, it appears rather strange, that he should have hatched the lie.

I shall now, before I offer you further remarks upon the subject, insert the Report of the proceedings at the *Inquest*, requesting you and all the *Reformers* to read them with scrupulous attention. You will find (a thing quite new) the Coroner (if the report be true) laying down the doctrine, that self-murder *must of necessity* imply *insanity* in him who commits it; you will find many other things worthy of strict attention; and, therefore, if, only for this week, you can but get *lights sufficient* to read by, and obtain the favour of being permitted to read, pray read this Report attentively, and then have the goodness to listen to the remarks that I shall make.

INQUEST

*Held at North Gray, Tuesday,
12th August 1822.*

This day, at a few minutes before three o'clock a jury of the most respectable inhabitants in the vicinity of the estate of the late Marquis of Londonderry was empannelled, to inquire into the cause of the death of the above Noble Lord. The Coroner was Mr. JOSEPH CARTAR, of Deptford. The inquest was held at the house of the deceased lord, and to the credit of the individuals who were appointed to superintend the arrangements attendant upon this melancholy occasion, not the slightest attempt was made to keep the proceedings secret. Directions were given to the domestics to admit every person who desired to be present at the inquest. The jury having been sworn,

The Coroner addressed them in nearly the following terms:—Upon no former occasion in the performance of his duty had his feelings been so excited as by the present unfortunate event. He was indeed so much affected that they must perceive he could hardly express himself as he wished. Upon this account he trusted they would excuse any trifling errors which he might commit in the exercise of his duty. The gentlemen of the jury were summoned and sworn to inquire into the causes of the death of a nobleman, who stood perhaps as high in the public estimation as any man in the country. That his Lordship had met his death under particular circumstances, they doubtless must have learned. But it was his duty to inform them that they must remove from their minds all impressions which should not be

borne out by the evidence. The gentlemen whom he addressed being neighbours of the deceased, were better able to form a just estimate of his character than he was. As a public man, it was impossible for him to weigh his character in any scales that he could hold. In private life he believed the world would admit that a more amiable man could not be found. Whether the important duties of the great office which he held pressed upon his mind, and conducted to the melancholy event which they had assembled to investigate, was a circumstance which in all probability never could be discovered. He understood that his Lordship had for some time past been so unwell as to require the assistance of a medical attendant. This gentleman would be examined on the inquest; and would doubtless be competent to describe the disease and affliction under which his Lordship laboured. That the dreadful blow which deprived the noble Lord of life was inflicted by his own hand, he believed the jury, when they came to hear the evidence, could not doubt. He understood it would be proved that no person in the house, except his Lordship, could have committed the act. When the jury should examine the situation of the body; and hear the evidence that would be submitted to them, he was convinced that they would be perfectly unanimous in that part of their verdict which went to declare the manner in which the deceased met his death. He felt that it was a matter of delicacy to allude to the other part of the verdict, and he would not presume to anticipate what it might be; but he trusted the result would be that which all good men desired. If the facts which he had heard were proved in evidence, he thought no man could doubt that at the time he committed the rash act his Lord-

ship was labouring under a mental delusion. If, however, it should unfortunately appear that there was not sufficient evidence to prove what were generally considered the indications of a disordered mind, he trusted that the jury would pay some attention to his (the Coroner's) humble opinion, which was, that no man could be in his proper senses at the moment he committed so rash an act as self-murder. His opinion was in consonance with every moral sentiment, and of the information which the wisest of men had given to the world. The Bible declared that a man clung to nothing so strongly as his own life. He therefore viewed it as an axiom, and an abstract principle, that a man must necessarily be out of his mind at the moment of destroying himself. The jury, of course, would not adopt his opinion upon this point, unless it were in unison with their own. He would not longer occupy the time and attention of the jury than to express his pleasure at seeing so respectable a body of gentlemen, and to add a hope that they would acquit themselves of their important duty to the satisfaction of the public, as well as of their own consciences. He must apologise for saying a few words more. The body was lying up stairs, and in the room adjoining to that in which it lay, the Marchioness at present was, and from thence it had been found impossible to remove her. To picture to the imagination any thing like the state of that noble lady's mind, was altogether impossible. The partition which divided the room in which the body lay from that which the Marchioness at present occupied was so thin, that the least noise being made in the former could not fail to be heard in the latter. The forms of law, however, required that the jury should view the body, and judge from the external marks

which it might exhibit, of the causes which had produced death; he, therefore, had only to request that the gentlemen would be as silent as possible. He was almost afraid that the creaking of their shoes might be the means of exciting ideas which would wound the feelings of the unhappy Marchioness. He was sure, under these circumstances, the jury would do every thing in their power to prevent the least noise, and he might observe, that it would be desirable to abstain from talking in the room where the body lay, because any conversation must certainly be heard through the almost, he might say, paper partition. After the jury had satisfied themselves by viewing the body, they would return to execute the remaining part of their duty.

During this address of the Coroner, the domestics of the unfortunate Marquis who were in the room, for the most part, shed tears; indeed, the lave which the servants of his lordship bore towards him was, we will not say surprising (for kind and honourable treatment from a gentleman to those persons who are dependent upon him, must ever procure such a result), but highly creditable both to him, and the individuals who composed his household.

Before the jury left the room for the purpose of seeing the body, one of them suggested that his colleagues, as well as himself, should take off their shoes, in order to prevent as far as possible any noise that might be occasioned by them in walking. This hint was immediately acted upon, and the jury left the room.

After what had fallen from the Coroner, a feeling of delicacy prevented us from accompanying the jury up stairs, although we were given to understand that no objection would have been made to such a proceeding. In fact, as

we have before hinted, no attempt at concealment was manifested on the part of the household, but on the contrary a desire was shown to afford the public an opportunity of ascertaining the particulars of an event respecting which much interest must necessarily be excited.

The following description of the situation of the body at the time the jury viewed it we believe to be correct:—The body was enveloped in a dressing-gown and the head was covered with a handkerchief. The feet were towards the window. The blood which proceeded from the wound was still upon the ground.

After being absent about 10 minutes, the jury returned evidently much affected by the melancholy spectacle which they had just beheld.

The first witness called was Anne Robinson, who being sworn, deposed as follows:—"I wait upon the Marchioness of Londonderry: I know the Marquis of Londonderry: his body now lies up stairs. In my opinion he has been ill during the last fortnight, but particularly so since Monday week. On Monday morning he rang the bell; I answered it: he inquired why my lady had not been to see him. Her Ladyship had been with him all night, and I told him so. Her Ladyship at this time was not in the room. I then went away. The bell rang again. When I answered it he asked if Dr. Bankhead had been to see him? I told him that Dr. Bankhead had been with him about two hours and a half in the evening. It was about four in the morning when he asked me this question. When I told him that Dr. Bankhead had been with him, he asked what he had said to the Doctor—whether he had talked any nonsense to him, or any thing particular, as he had no recollection on the subject. I replied, that

I was not in the room during the time that he had talked with the doctor. I then left the room. He rang again about seven o'clock. I went to him. He then asked me what I wanted there. My Lady was with him at the time. She had been with him since four o'clock, and she answered, 'that my Lord wanted his breakfast.' My Lord and Lady were in bed at the time. I left the room and brought the breakfast up. He sat up in the bed and tasted part of it. He found fault with it, and said 'it was not a breakfast fit for him.' He said there was no butter there: the butter, however, was on the tray, as usual, and I pointed it out to him. The manner in which he spoke struck me as being uncommon; it was in a sharp tone, which was unusual with him. I left the room after this. The bell rang again in about half an hour; that was about half-past seven. My Lady was in the room at this time, and I cannot tell who rang the bell. When I entered the room he asked me whether Dr. Bankhead had come from town. I told him that Dr. Bankhead had slept in the house. He then said that he wished to see him. My Lady then got up and came to me at the door, and said something to me. I went to Dr. Bankhead, and gave him my Lord's message. I went back to my Lord, and told him that Dr. Bankhead would be with him in two minutes. When my Lord saw me speaking to my Lady, before I left the room to go to Dr. Bankhead, he said there was a conspiracy against him. My Lady at that time desired me to tell Dr. Bankhead that he was wanted as soon as he could come. When I returned and told my Lady that Dr. Bankhead would come, my Lady got out of bed and retired to her dressing-room. At this moment my Lord also got out of bed, and turned to the right into his own dressing-room. [Several questions

were here put to the witness to ascertain the precise situation of these rooms. From the answers which she returned, it appeared that the common sleeping room opened into a passage, on either side of which was a dressing-room: Lady Londonderry's on the left, his Lordship's on the right. At the extremity of the passage was another door, behind which Dr. Bankhead was waiting.] I had just opened the door of my Lady's dressing-room, into which she had entered, when my Lord rushed past me into his own room. I opened the outside door, and told the circumstance to Dr. Bankhead, who immediately followed my Lord into his dressing-room. I cannot tell what passed there, but I heard my Lord open his window before the doctor entered his room. Immediately when the doctor entered the room he (the doctor) exclaimed, 'Oh, my Lord,' or 'Oh, my God,' I cannot recollect which. I heard no reply to this from my Lord. I instantly rushed into the room, and saw the doctor with my Lord in his arms. I remained in the room till I saw the doctor lay him with his face upon the ground. I saw the blood running from him while Dr. Bankhead held him. I saw a knife. I heard my Lord say nothing. I was certainly much alarmed. The knife was in his right hand. [A penknife with an ivory handle, and upon which there was no appearance of blood, was here shown to the witness.] I believe that to be the penknife which I saw in my Lord's hands. After staying a few minutes in my Lord's dressing-room, I followed Dr. Bankhead to my Lady. I had previously raised an alarm, and it was now general throughout the house. To the best of my belief, my Lord did not live four minutes after I saw him. I did not perceive any wound nor any blood while he was in his bed-room. No person was with him in the interval between his leaving

his dressing-room and his death but Dr. Bankhead. His state of mind appeared to be very incorrect for the last three or four days of his life. He appeared to be very wild in every thing he said or did. He wanted from me a box which he said Lord Glenwilliam had given to me. His Lordship, however, had never given me any. He also asked me for his keys, when he had them about him. During the last fortnight he was accustomed to say that everybody had conspired against him. He was very covert in his manner of speaking; which I never noticed before, he being in general mild and kind. When he saw two people speaking together, he always said, 'There is a conspiracy laid against me.' A great many circumstances induced me to believe that he was one of his mind a fortnight before his death. He scolded my Lady on Sunday afternoon, because, as he said, she had not been near him all day, she had entirely forsaken him. Her Ladyship, however, had been sitting with him all the morning. The witness, in confusion, repeated her belief that his Lordship had been in a state of mental delusion for some weeks previous to his death.

The second witness examined was Charles Bankhead, M.D., of Lower Brook-street, Grosvenor-square.—"On last Friday afternoon, at 5 o'clock, I received a note from Lady Londonderry, desiring me to come as soon as I could to see the Marquis of Londonderry, at his house in St. James's-square. Her note stated that she was very anxious about his Lordship, as she thought he was very ill and very nervous; that they were to leave town for North Cray at seven o'clock in the evening, and that she hoped I would come before that hour. I arrived in St. James's-square at six o'clock, and found my Lord and Lady alone in the drawing-room. Upon seeing

By his pulse I conceived him to be exceedingly ill. He complained of a severe headache, and of a confusion of recollection. He looked pale, and was very much distressed in his manner. I told him that I thought it was necessary that he should be cupped, and that I would stay and dine with his lady and himself whilst the cupper came. The cupper soon arrived, and took seven ounces of blood from the nape of his Lordship's neck. After the operation was performed, he stated that he was very much relieved, and I advised him to lay himself quietly down on the sofa for half an hour; and, as he had scarcely eaten the whole day, to take a cup of tea before he got into the carriage to return to North Cray. He followed my advice, and laid himself down on the couch, where he remained very tranquil. After this he drank two cups of tea. I waited until I saw my Lady and himself get into the carriage in order to return to North Cray. Before his departure his Lordship said, that as I must be sure he was very ill, he expected that I would come to North Cray and stay all Saturday night, and if possible, all Sunday. I sent with him some opening medicines, which he was to take early on Saturday in order that I might know the effect they had produced on my arrival. I know that he took these powders on Saturday. I arrived at North Cray about seven o'clock on Saturday afternoon. I understood that his Lordship had not been out of bed all day, and I immediately proceeded to his bed-room. On entering his bed-room, I observed that his manner of looking at me expressed suspicion and alarm. He said it was very odd that I should come into his bed-room first, before going into the dining-room below. I answered that I had dinner down, and knowing that the family were at dinner down stairs, I had come to visit him.

Upon this he made a reply which surprised me exceedingly. It was to this effect—that I seemed particularly grave in my manner, and that something must have happened amiss. He then asked me abruptly whether I had any thing unpleasant to tell him? I answered, 'No; that I was surprised at his question, and the manner in which it was proposed.' He then said, 'the truth was, that he had reason to be suspicious in some degree, but that he hoped that I would be the last person who would engage in anything that would be injurious to him.' His manner of saying this was so unusual and so disturbed, as to satisfy me that he was at the moment labouring under mental delusion. I entreated him to be very tranquil, and prescribed for him some more cooling and aperient medicines, consoled him to barley-water, and allowed him stops only. I remained with him during Saturday night and till one o'clock on Sunday morning. Though his fever was not very high during any part of this time, yet the incoherence of his speech and the uncomfatableness of his manner continued unaltered. During Sunday I visited him frequently, and continued with him in the evening till half-past 12 o'clock. I advised him to be as tranquil as possible, and told him that I would endeavour to persuade my Lady to come to bed: I slept in a room very near that of his Lordship. On Monday morning, about seven o'clock, Mrs. Robinson, my Lady Londonderry's maid, came to my room door, and asked if I was dressed; telling me, 'my Lord wished to see me by-and-by.' I answered, that I was ready to come that moment; but Mrs. Robinson said, 'that she did not wish me to come then, because her Ladyship had not left the bed-room.' In about half an hour, she returned again, and said, that his Lordship would be glad to

see me immediately, as her Ladyship was putting on her gown, in order to go into her own dressing-room. On walking from my own room to Lord Londonderry's bedroom, I observed that the door of the latter was open, and could perceive that his Lordship was not in it. In an instant Mrs. Robinson said to me, 'His Lordship has gone into his dressing-room.' I stepped into his dressing-room, and saw him in his dressing-gown, standing with his front towards the window, which was opposite to the door at which I entered. His face was directed towards the ceiling. Without turning his head, on the instant he heard my step he exclaimed, "Bankhead, let me fall upon your arm—'tis all over." As quickly as possible I ran to him, thinking he was fainting and going to fall. I caught him in my arms as he was falling, and perceived that he had a knife in his right hand, very firmly clinched, and all over blood. I did not see him use it: he must have used it before I came into the room. In falling he declined upon one side, and the blood burst from him like a torrent from a watering pot. I was unable to support him, and he fell out of my arms. I think the wound must have been inflicted as soon as I put my foot on the threshold of the door, as its nature was such that the extinction of life must have followed it in the twinkling of an eye. I think that not less than two quarts of blood flowed from him in one minute. I am satisfied that a minute did not elapse from the moment of my entering the room until he died, and during that time he said not a word except that which I have already mentioned. It was impossible that any human being could have inflicted the wound but himself. Having known him intimately for the last 30 years, I have no hesitation in saying that he was perfectly insane when he committed this act. I had noticed a great

decline in the general habit of his health for some weeks prior to his death; but I was not aware of the mental delusion under which he was labouring till within three or four days of his decease."

After Dr. Bankhead had finished his testimony, the CORONER inquired whether there were any more witnesses who could speak to the nature of this transaction. He was informed that there were several; but a doubt being thrown out as to the necessity of calling them after the evidence which had already been adduced, he said that he should consult the jury upon the point, and in consequence ordered the room to be cleared of all spectators.

After the Coroner and Jury had been left to themselves for half an hour, notice was given that strangers were again permitted to enter the room in which they were sitting. On reaching it, we found the Jury ranged round the Coroner's table, and giving their assent to a verdict which he read to them. The verdict stated, "That on Monday, Aug. 12, and for some time previously, the Most Noble Robert, Marquis of Londonderry, under a grievous disorder did labour and languish, and became in consequence delirious and of insane mind; and that, whilst in that state, with a knife of iron and steel, he did inflict on himself on the left side of his neck, and of the carotid artery, a wound of one inch in length, and half an inch in depth, of which he instantly died; and that no other person except himself was the cause of his death."

If coincident dates were of any importance, I might observe, that Castlereagh cut his throat on the *King's Birthday*. A thing

more necessary, to be observed, is, that he is here called the *Marguis of Londonderry*, which was his title; but, I have always continued to call him *Castlereagh*, that being the title which he bore during the time that he so largely participated in those numerous deeds, by which we have so long and so well known him. His name was *Robert Stewart*; but, by that of *Castlereagh* he was known to the nation, and by that name I shall always speak of him.

The first thing that strikes our attention here is the weeping of the servants, set forth in so pompous and prominent a manner. This is very likely to have been true, and *Castlereagh* is likely enough to have been a gentle and liberal master. But while we can discover no very great or rare merit in this on his part, seeing the loads of public money, which, for so many years, he had been receiving, we see a good deal to swell upon, if I had time for it, in the conduct of these servants,

whose attachment and gratitude were so feelingly expressed upon this occasion. These persons, be it remembered, belonged to those "lower orders" of which he had always spoken with so much contempt and disdain, and whom he insulted with the name of *basest populace*, when they stood forward in defence of the persecuted *Caroline*. Those tears should have been hidden by his eulogist; for, in those tears of the servants we read the severest censure on the former conduct of the master.

We see, that, if the Report speaks truth, *Viscount Sidmouth* was in attendance. What could that be for? Probably to give that evidence of which the Coroner spoke as being at hand, but which he regarded as unnecessary, seeing that he had the *Letter of the Duke of Wellington*, of which letter I shall speak by-and-by.

We next come to the *Speech* of the Coroner, which, as far as my observation has gone, was something wholly new. He began, it

appears from the Report, by pronouncing a lofty eulogium upon the person who had cut his throat, as well in his private as his public capacity. I shall dispute the assertions of the Coroner as to the latter of these; but, I shall first proceed with that part of the speech which related to the business before the Jury.

The Coroner here spoke after the manner of a lawyer *opening his case*. He told the Jury that he should produce such and such evidence; and that that evidence would, if produced, lead to such and such conclusions. He told them that, if what he had heard were proved, there could be no doubt that the person who had cut his throat was, at the time, labouring under mental aberration. But, and now mark, he is reported to have said, "If it should *unfortunately* appear that there was *not sufficient evidence to prove the insanity*, he trusted the Jury would pay some attention *to his humble opinion*, which *was*, that no man could be in

his proper sense at the moment he committed so rash an *act as self-murder*!"

This was no very *humble* opinion. It was a very bold one; and a very daring one; seeing that it was in direct opposition to the *Law of the Land*, which, so far from presuming that self-murder must proceed from insanity, provides a degradation to be inflicted on the bodies of self-murderers, and also the confiscation of their property to the King. Mr. Coroner told his Jury, that, his opinion was in consonance with every moral sentiment, and with the information which the wisest of men had given to the world. I do not know that he said this; to be sure; but, such is the Report that has been published in the *Chronicle* and other papers. He quoted the *Bible* to show how strongly man was attached to life; but he forgot to say how the *Bible* reprobates self-destruction. He repeated his opinion, in these words: "he therefore viewed it

"as an axiom; that a man must
"necessarily be out of his mind
"at the moment of destroying
"himself."

Now, if this Coroner did say
this, for which we have no more
than newspaper authority mind,
I say that he delivered a doctrine
completely at variance with the
Law of the Land, and that he
was guilty of a breach of his
duty. The law adopts no such

axiom. BLACKSTONE, in his
Fourth Book, and 14th Chap-
ter, after calling suicide pretend-
ed heroism, but real cowardice,
proceeds to say, that the Law of
England has ranked this amongst
the highest crimes, making it a
peculiar species of felony. Then
he goes on thus: "The party
"must be in his senses, else it
"is no crime. But this excuse
"ought not to be strained to that
"length to which our Coroners
"Juries are apt to carry it;
"namely, that the very act of
"suicide is an evidence of in-
"sanity; as if every man who
"acts contrary to reason had no

reason at all; for the same
argument would prove every
other criminal insane as well
as the self-murderer. The law
very rationally judges that
every melancholy fit does not
deprive a man of the capacity
of discerning right from wrong;
and therefore, if a *real lunatic*
kill himself in a lucid interval,
he is a self-murderer as much
as another man."

Let the public judge, then, of
the manner in which this Coroner
performed his duty upon this oc-
casion. You see, even if a no-
torious lunatic, a man who has
been a lunatic for years, kill him-
self in a lucid interval, the law
sends his body to be buried in the
highway with a stake driven
through it, and makes his goods
and chattels forfeit to the King;
hoping," says Blackstone, "that
his care for either his own re-
putation, or the welfare of his
family, would be some motive
to restrain him from so desperate
and wicked an act." But what
is there to restrain any man, if

Juries act upon the opinion of this Coroner, who sets the law totally aside, and conjures up in its stead what he calls *moral sentiment* and the information of *the wisest of men*. What had he to do with moral sentiment; what had he to do with information of the wisest of men? What had he to do, in short, with any thing but the law; and, had he not that law in Blackstone, in Hawkins, and in all the authorities to which they refer? Besides, if this Coroner be right, what enormous wrong has been committed on self-murderers and their families! How many bodies of poor men have been buried in the highway! Was not Smith at Manchester, who hanged himself on being discarded by his sweetheart; was not Sellis; was not the unfortunate Spanish General the Marquis de Castro; were not these buried in the highway: and if this Coroner was right, again I say, what wrong has been done!

Blackstone is very particular in observing, that, a mere fit of melancholy is not to form a legal

excuse. Look well at the evidence, and see if you can discover proof of any thing like settled insanity. But, this is not all; for if even a real lunatic kill himself in a *lucid interval* he is a self-murderer. Now, if you look at the evidence of Doctor Bankhead, you will find that, when the Doctor went into the dressing-room, he found Castlereagh in it; and the Doctor says, "his face was in an elevated position, directed towards the ceiling. Without turning his head, on the instant he heard my step, he exclaimed, *Bankhead, let me fall upon your arm — 'tis all over*. He never spoke again." Was there ever any thing in the world more rational than this? Must not the mind have been perfectly sane that could have distinguished the Doctor's step without seeing the Doctor; that could have, not only anticipated the fall, but have provided against it; and that could have stated, in words so appropriate, the effect which the

knife had insured! Here then was the *lucid interval*, at any rate; and Blackstone says, that if even a real lunatic kill himself in a *lucid interval* he is a self-murderer as much as another man. It is easy to conceive how anxious the family of Castlereagh must have been to prevent the consequences of a verdict of *felo-de-se*. Besides the burying in the highway, there was property to the amount of perhaps two or three or four hundred thousand pounds. On what ground the Jury did decide in favour of *extinguishing* insanity it is not for me to say; but if their decision was founded on the axioms laid down by the *Cotner*, their decision was clearly contrary to law. However, as I find the evidence given in the newspapers, so I give it to you; take it, and all the circumstances belonging to it into view, and come to that decision which reason and justice dictate.

Now let us take another view of the matter. According to one

of these witnesses, he had been insane for a *fortnight*. According to the other, he had been insane for a shorter space of time. But, it unfortunately happened that he was present, and formed one in Council with the King, on the Friday previous to the Monday on which he cut his throat! According to the Lady's Maid's account, he was insane some days while he was appearing and speaking in Parliament. These witnesses do, indeed, call it *illness*, and *mental delusion*, and *nervousness*, and *headache*, and *mental delirium*; but, it will be evident to every one, that its proper name was *insanity*, or *madness*; for, if it did not amount to this, it was nothing in exculpation. Here then we have the proof; proof sufficient to satisfy a Jury, that we had a mad "leader" of the House of Commons; and a mad Minister sitting in Council with the King!

The Letter of the Duke of Wellington is a very curious affair, especially if we take it into view

along with other circumstances. The Letter is written by the Duke to Castlereagh's Doctor. A very extraordinary thing in itself. It is very extraordinary that one of the King's Ministers should write a letter to a *Doctor*; should put it down in *black and white*, that another of the King's Ministers laboured under "*mental delirium*," and then it comes in so pretty a way, "I beg you will never mention to any one what I have communicated to you respecting his Lordship." This is so very pretty; so extremely likely, that we cannot help believing this to be authentic! It is so perfectly in character, as coming from a Privy Councillor; and the thing winds up so well by the newspapers telling us, that, "immediately on their announcement of the verdict, a dispatch was forwarded to the Duke of Wellington, and the Messenger was ordered to proceed with the *utmost possible expedition*!" Well he might go with the "*utmost possible*" expedition to tell the Duke that the

Doctor had already told his secret; and that, too, without any necessity for it, seeing that the verdict was recorded before the Letter was produced! The Duke would not be a little surprised at the news I dare say, but certainly his surprise would not be greater than that of the whole of this nation, at the various parts of this wonderful proceeding.

We must now take a little look at the extra-judicial assertions connected with this affair. The Courier of Wednesday tells us, that the insanity under which the act was committed is proved by many circumstances not noticed at the time. "Had it been possible or decorous to have demanded his Majesty's testimony, we are informed that his evidence could have been had," and then the Courier proceeds to say, that the King observed it on the Friday. So that, if this varlet of a Courier were to be believed, which he is not, observe, the King went off to Scotland with a firm belief in his mind, that he left the

office of Foreign Affairs in the hands of a madman. The Courier farther tells us in the same paper, that, there had been "mental alienation" in some of the branches of Castlereagh's family. So that, here we have it running in the blood; and now, perhaps, we may account for those expressions at which I used so to laugh, about "sudden transitions from war to peace;" about capital feeding its way into the channels; about digging holes one day, and filling them up the next; about leaving things to Nature; about the general working of events; in short, we may now account for all those wild things that I used to say, as plainly as I dared, were never before uttered by any Gentleman out of Bedlam. The Courier, in the same paper, tells us positively, that the King, before his departure, sent for Lord Liverpool to tell him that he thought Castlereagh's intellects were impaired. And, yet, this very same paper of only one day before told us, that this very Castlereagh

was preparing, the very day before he cut his throat, to go to the continent, as the King's representative, at a Congress, where the affairs of Europe were to undergo discussion!

If all this were true, which, observe, I by no means either assert or believe, what a pretty situation this nation would be in! It would, indeed, be the envy of surrounding nations, and admiration of the world. Men would no longer wonder at the miserable state in which they are; no longer wonder that famine and over-production of food should at once oppress the land. Here would be a solution of the whole of the wonder: a mad Secretary of State, and a mad Leader of the House of Commons.

You will observe the pitiful pretences that have been hatched up as the cause of this insanity. In the Letter of the Duke of Wellington, the harassing and fatigue and over working during the last Session of Parliament are stated as the cause. The Courier comes

with an amplification of this, and he says, that people who did not expect it "*did not sufficiently calculate the effect of constant application, unrelieved by any recreation or leisure—of nights passed in harassing debates, and of days devoted to equally harassing diplomatic discussions—*" they did not reflect how few hours could be passed in bed, and fewer still be passed in "*sleep.*" What impudence as well as nonsense! What diplomatic discussions had he to worry him, when he had two Under Secretaries of State, two or three dozen of clerks and messengers; somebody to make even his pens for him, and ten or a dozen hands to write as many lines of writing; and this too, when, for seven long years, the King has been incessantly telling us twice a year, that he continues to receive nothing but assurances of peace and friendship from all foreign powers! What diplomatic discussions had he, then? And as to the "*harassing debates;*" what harassing had

he, when every motion that he made was sure to be carried, and nine times out of ten without an attempt at a division! If talking nonsense, indeed, proved him to be insane, insane he has been ever since I knew any thing of him; and certainly, the question that he put to the witness, Anne Robinson, whether he had talked any nonsense to Doctor Bankhead, proved any thing but his insanity; for it proved that he had formed a tolerably correct estimate of his colloquial endowments.

To talk of his mind having sunk under the load of his business is quite monstrous. The whole that he had to do, even if he had done it well, did not amount to a tenth of the labour that I have been constantly performing for these last twenty years; and if his mind sunk under his business, what is to become of the mind of a lawyer in extensive practice; of a Lord Chancellor, or of a Judge? The Chief Justice has more to do in a month than he had to do in seven years. Why, at this rate, no

Lawyer or Chancellor, or Judge ought to be suffered to move about without a keeper. Only think of a trial of considerable length, proceeding out of a complicated declaration and pleadings of length enormous; only think of sitting and hearing the statements of the lawyers on both sides, of hearing the evidence of twenty or thirty witnesses, swearing to different points of the question, irregularly as possible in point of order; only think of making notes of all this, and then, when all this mass of confusion is over, taking it and laying the merits of the case, the *pro* and the *con*, and nicely balancing one part against another; drawing, at last, the conclusion on which the mind of the jury ought to rest: only think of all this; consider, that it is what every one of the Judges has to perform almost every day of his life; and consider, too, that the Judge is bound by law; that every opinion he gives, every statement that he makes, every colouring that he communicates to

any circumstance, are narrowly watched by men as skilful and as able as himself, who have a right to call him to account, who do call him to account upon the spot, if he fall into error; and who can call for a revision of his decisions and bring against him any word that he may utter, and that, too, before a tribunal where his rivals sit in judgment with himself. Only think of this; and recollect, that the Judges never go mad; and so thoroughly are they imbued with a sense of obedience to the laws, that, however the cutting of throats may be in fashion, they take special good care never to cut theirs.

It is beastly nonsense, therefore; it is nonsense such as scarcely Castlereagh himself ever uttered, to talk of his having been driven out of his senses by his load of business. *Deep thinking*, some people say, will drive a man mad. This is a very foolish notion; but, at any rate, how deeply Castlereagh thought, may be judged of by his speeches and

the result of his measure. It is not now that I say it for the first time or for the thousandth time, for I have always said, that it was one of the most empty-headed creatures that ever existed; and that it was sheer impudence, and the imbecility of its opponents, that carried it through with a sort of eclat, such as a mountebank obtains amongst clowns.

Yet, that he was not in that state of disgust and despair which might have impaired his faculties, such as they were, I do not pretend to say. He must have been an idiot not to perceive that his career was drawing to a close. I do not know that he did perceive it; but he must have been little short of an idiot not to have perceived it; and it is likely enough, that he did feel a great deal of alarm at events that he saw approaching. He well knew that he was most cordially detested by the Reformers at any rate; and impudent as he was, he had lived to see the day, when sheer impudence was not likely to

carry him through. He had got through the last Session of Parliament with some difficulty; but he saw another approaching which he could not hope to get through, without the system receiving a terrible shock of some sort or another.

Under such circumstances he might be in a state approaching insanity. What makes the bankers, money-jobbers, and merchants, cut their throats so gallantly? The dread of humiliation. False pride. Blackstone calls it cowardice, which induces men to destroy themselves, to avoid those ills which they have not the fortitude to endure. Instead of going to America to avoid the blessings of Sidmouth's Bill, which *Cassidrecgh* brought into the House of Commons, I might have cut my throat; but I did not like the idea of being buried in the highway with a stake driven through me. I preferred enduring the ills of a voyage to America, and living to have the chance of seeing my foes cut their own throats. This out-

day of death, therefore, has its foundation in false pride; in the dread of being humbled; in the dread of being brought to sweep these streets, through which the throat cutters have rolled with such insolence in their carriages. They retain all their insolence still; else they would see that they are about to come into their proper place; and to be in that state of life where they ought always to have been.

As to compassion; as to sorrow, upon this occasion, how base a hypocrite I must be to affect it! nay, how base a hypocrite to disguise, or attempt to disguise, my satisfaction! Can I forget Ireland; can I forget Mr. FINNEBY; can I forget NAPOLEON, Marshal Ney; can I forget the QUEEN, who, though she suffered so much, though she suffered to the breaking of her heart, never thought of the dastardly act of putting an end to her existence. The ruffians who continue to praise this man, tell us that the history of his life is found in the measures of the

Government for the last twenty-seven years; and that is true enough; it is found in all the various acts that have been passed to shut the Briars in their houses from sunset to sunrise, and to transport them without trial by jury. It is found in the Power of Imprisonment Bill of 1817. It is found in those terrible Six Acts, one of which prescribes that the printer of a newspaper shall enter into bail even before he begins to print; which prescribes that this very pamphlet in which I am now addressing you, shall be so loaded with paper and with price, as to make it difficult to effect its circulation. It is found in another of those Acts, which was intended to transport men, and which does banish men for life, for a second time uttering that which has a tendency to bring into contempt those who pass such a law. His history is in the figure of eight and eight cyphers, which represent the amount of the National Debt. It is written in those measures which have reduced the most in-

dustrious and enterprising farmers in the world to a state of beggary, and have plunged no small number of them into despair, real insanity, and self-destruction. It is written in a mass of pauperism, hitherto wholly unknown to England, and it is written in starvation to Ireland amidst over-production. As to his family and connexions, look at the immense sums which they are now receiving out of the fruit of the people's labour. And as to any compassion that we are to feel for them, we will feel it when an end to the sufferings of the Reformers and their families will leave us a particle of compassion to bestow on any body else. The mention of the anguish of Lady CASTLEREAGH only reminds me of the anguish of poor Mrs. JOHNSON, who, brought to a death-bed by long and racking anxiety on account of her husband, harassed, persecuted, thrown into a dungeon at a hundred miles from her, merely for having been present at a Meeting never before deemed unlawful; when I hear Lady Castlereagh's anguish mentioned I forget, for the time, the enormous sinecure of her father, but I remember that exemplary and affectionate wife, Mrs. JOHNSON, who, brought to her death-bed by the means just mentioned, earnestly prayed that she might see her husband before she closed her eyes for ever; and I remember, that that prayer was rejected by Castlereagh and his colleagues, though the husband tendered bail to any amount and offered to submit to any length of imprisonment as the price of permission to receive the last sigh of his dying wife!

I have now performed my duty; a duty towards the Public; towards the Reformers more especially; and, Joseph Swann, particularly towards you. I anxiously hope that you may come alive, and in health, out of your dungeon. I admired your conduct at the time when the sentence was passed upon you. You did not talk of cutting your throat; but, darting a look at those who

passed the sentence, you exclaimed: "Is that *all*? I thought you had a *bit of rope* in your pockets for me!" Your children are in misery now; but be of good cheer; they may live to see the day when they will not have to mourn over a father in a dungeon. I am,

Your faithful Friend and

Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

MR. BROUGHAM'S BEER BILL.

Horsham, 13 Aug. 1832.

I am very anxious to direct the public attention to this measure, which, if the people be just towards themselves, will certainly be adopted in the next Session of Parliament. The object of the Bill is to enable any body to deal in beer, as any body deals in bread; and not to confine the trade to certain houses. These houses are now *privileged* houses. They ought not to be called *licenced* houses; but *privileged*

houses; for they *exclude* all other houses. These *privileged* buildings belong, in general, to *great Brewers*, who have been *growing rich* in much about the same proportion that the people have been *growing poor*. Mr. ELMAN the elder, when he was examined by the Agricultural Committee of 1821, stated, that, forty-five years ago, there was not a labourer's family in his parish that did not brew their own beer, and enjoy it by their own fire-sides; and that *now*, there was *not one* in the parish that did it. This was a shocking fact for the Parliament to learn, and from such good authority too! In the meanwhile the Brewers, owing to their *privileged houses*, have been growing rich as Jews and insolent as lords in waiting.

To do the Government justice, it has not *wished* to establish this shameful monopoly, which has grown up without its positive aid, and even against its wish, as it has been manifestly against its interest. For, the Brewers have

get into a powerful body, having an influence independent of the Government, and, when their interest dictated it, using that influence against the Government; playing the "Patriot," or playing the slave, just as interest dictated. The great masses of money, drawn together by this monopoly in the trade of beer, naturally threw the paper-money melting, in considerable part, into the same hands. This was a most powerful ally. Masters of the money-chops, the Brewers found it very easy to manage the affair of getting and keeping as many privileged bottles as they pleased.

At a trial at Winchester, it came out, that a *Magistrate*, who was a *Person* too, had taken a sum of money for licensing a public-house. Here, then, the thing was proved to be possible, at least. But, without resorting to the presumption, that this sort of traffic has been any thing like common; without supposing that this vulgar and clumsy species of bribery has

not been rare; is it not clear, that an opulent Brewer and Farmer can, in a country place especially, hardly wish for any thing which he cannot accomplish? Every one will see, that, under such circumstances, an individual, who is only just able to set up as a publican to brew his own beer, can have no more chance against the big brewer than a goose has in a contest with a fox.

Yet, is it not a monstrous thing, that *this article* should be subjected to such a monopoly, or, to any thing like a monopoly? If the dealing in bread or meat or cheese or butter were to be engrossed in this way, should we not think it the most outrageous of all tyrannies? Yet beer is an article scarcely inferior to meat in point of importance, and far surpassing, in that respect, cheese or butter. It is useless to argue that no drink but water is necessary; for, if it were true, you cannot bring the people to adopt it. You attempt an impossibility. For those who want hard something of

strength in the drink appears to be unnecessary. But, if we were to admit, or maintain, the contrary, that would make nothing in favour of the Brewer's monopoly; for, then, there ought to be no beer at all. Of all the drink known to man, the most suitable to those who labour appears to be that which proceeds from grain malted. At any rate, it has always been in use in England, to the climate of which it is peculiarly adapted; a climate not so cold as to require ardent spirits; and not so hot as to render it at all difficult to keep beer for almost any length of time. There is, too, this great convenience: that liquor, of various degrees of strength is to be drawn from the same material. The quantities may be large or small, suited to the means and the wants of the party. In short, it is the drink of the country.

Is it not an abomination, then, that the making of this drink should have become a monopoly almost as complete as if the making of it by any but public brewers

were a crime punishable with death? Yet, as far as relates to towns, and especially great towns, this is the case. The taxes, and means necessary to be used to collect them; the taxes on Malt and on Beer have worked to this effect. Contrary to the wish of the Government, I allow; but, they have thus worked; and, in conjunction with the trade of paper-money making, have laid the whole country, and especially the labouring classes, under contribution to a sort of *Burghele Aristocracy*, who have an immense revenue, drawn from the people at large through what Mr. Brougham well denominated those *funnels*, the public-house keepers, who are a sort of tax-gatherers to this aristocracy, and can be "*dumped out into the road*" at their pleasure; who are, in fact, nothing more than their agents or servants. The laws, in imposing taxes on beer, malt and hops, and in imposing licences, never contemplated any such result as this. Those who made the

laws looked upon it that the public-house keeper would himself be the *owner* of the house; or, at least, that he would *rent* the house of the real owner, and have a safe hold of it, as in other cases. They never thought, that these houses, or the leases of them, would fall into the hands of a Bunghole Aristocracy, who would compel the people of the vicinage to drink *their beer*, or *none*, having (as they have) influence sufficient to prevent any rivalry from individuals. This is what was never thought of by those that passed the laws. But, this is what it has come to. The laws have been craftily perverted to the general harm. The spirit of them has been abused; and now that it is proposed to rectify the thing, to put an end to so great an abuse, the Bunghole Aristocracy come forward and claim a "*vested interest*!" In what? In an *abuse*! Very much, to be sure, like some other "*vested interests*;" and, really, we ought not, after this, to be much surprised to hear pickpockets at the Old Bailey pleading a "*vested interest*;" an "*undisturbed condition*;" and to assert, that *justice* and *humanity* forbade the putting of an end to the picking of pockets. Pickpockets are, however, more modest than the Bunghole Aristocracy.

But, in this case, as in most others, where injury is done to any body, the amount of the injury surpasses that of the gain of him who does the injury. The Brewers, great as is their gain, cause, for the sake of securing that gain, an injury to perhaps ten thousand times its amount. This monopoly draws people together from a considerable distance round to drink at the same spot; instead of being able, in cases where they cannot brew their own beer, to purchase their drink at a reasonable rate, and carry it home. If all the *farmers*, for instance, could brew beer and sell it to their neighbours, what an advantage it would be! A farmer could sell better beer for 2d. a pot than can now be got at the public-house for 6d. a pot. This is the way to break up the monopoly. It was useless to attempt, as by Mr. BENNET'S Bill, to put a *check* on the Magistrates, unless the power had been wholly taken out of their hands; for, what would an *Appeal* have been from the Petty Sessions to the Quarter Sessions? What an *Appeal* is it *ever*, or can it *ever* be? Mr. BROUGHAM'S is the best way: removing the temptation to corruption and undue influence.

As to the revenue, even if *all taxes* were taken from *the beer*, it would

be greatly increased; for, the consumption would be *three times* what it now is; and, of course, the tax on the malt, if it were to continue what it now is, would increase so much in amount as to make a great augmentation in the revenue. *The whole of the tax* ought to be taken off the malt. That would be the true way, and off the beer too; and there would be instant death to this enormous monopoly. The demand for *grain* would increase surprisingly; and, agriculture and every thing else would feel the good effects. The East Indies, China, and the West Indies, might, and would, complain; but, is it not a strange policy to tax the produce of our own fields, to burden that with imposts, in order to encourage trade with distant countries? We now *feel* a little of the effects of that sort of policy; and, the time, I hope, is not far off when it will be abandoned.

But, in the meanwhile, this monopoly, this mischievous monopoly, may be checked. The *Maltster's* is a monopoly too, and its effects are visible to all eyes. At this time malt is in the country places, from 7s. to 7s. and 6d. a bushel. The barley is 2s. 6d. at most. The tax 2s. 6d. Thus, then, there is charged for malting

from 2s. to 2s. and 6d. a bushel! Besides this, there is an increase of, at least, a gallon on every eight; that is to say, eight gallons of barley will make nine of malt. So that here is nearly 1s. more of gain per bushel to the maltster; making his gain upon every bushel of barley more than three shillings, when one shilling is quite sufficient; and, indeed, before the tax on malt, the custom used to be, to carry a bushel of good barley and receive a bushel of malt in exchange. The tax, therefore, causes the addition, not of 2s. 6d. which is what the *tax-gatherer* receives; but of about 4s. 6d. or 5s. And, if I am told, that competition amongst maltsters will prevent unreasonable gains, my answer is, that it *does not* do it; or, at least, it does not prevent this unreasonable addition to the price of the barley and the amount of the tax. The truth is, that where a tax comes, and especially where *excise* and *severe penal laws* make their appearance, there is no fair competition. The trade becomes a game of hazard, in which the greatest rogue is generally the greatest winner. It is an affair of trouble, danger, restraint, and slavery; and, as every man is not made of stuff to encounter or submit to these, the

create a monopoly in the hands of those that are made of such stuff. For my own part I scarcely can describe the privation that I would not endure rather than be compelled to place my doors open, at all hours, to an omnivorous, or to place my keys in his hands, as is frequently the case. No gain would be great enough, and the availing of no has sufficient, to induce me to do this. Therefore it is, that I give 7s. or 8s. for a bushel of malt, whereas I could make it for 5s. and pay the tax 2s. And thus it is, that the tax does an injury to the consumer and to agriculture beyond the good it does to the revenue.

However, it is worth consideration with many farmers; and with parishes; whether they ought not, even as things now stand, to make their own malt, especially in the woodland and hop countries, where fuel is cheap, and where a hop-kiln is easily made applicable to malt. The supplying of the labourers and mechanics and the tradespeople at a lower rate than the maltsters do would add greatly to the consumption. The "Country Gentlemen," as they are called, are so much engaged in bowing at Whitehall to get places and livings for their sons, that

they have not time to think about things so vulgar as this. Those who will soon have their estates will understand the matter better. They will see, that it is better to get seats than to beg for salaries, fees, pensions, and the like.

I have hitherto viewed this matter as it may be effected by the Bill, proposed to be brought in by Mr. Brougham; but, without any alteration at all in the law, people may check the monopoly by brewing their own beer, which was so strongly recommended by Mr. BAUGHMAN, who, upon this occasion deserved and received great and general applause; though it ought not to pass unacknowledged, that Mr. HURSTON appeared to favour the Bill, and that none of the ministers seemed to have any objection to it. So that we may hope to see this Bill pass into a law. But, in the meanwhile, any one is free to brew his own beer. With the tax and the monopoly charge on the malt, I allow; but still, even with those, to brew your own beer is a saving almost incredible, besides the security against swabbing poison; and, how great that danger is, we may guess from the ninety-five instances (mentioned in my *Cottage Economy*) of convicts and felons, caught

at almost a single haul, putting drugs, more or less poisonous, into *Beower's Beer*! The *Morning Chronicle* tells us, that Mr. *Inglis*, the merchant (partner of my *Conventry Ellice*) who shot himself the other day, was proved to have been insane by his having fancied that he was *poisoned*. Faith, if he were, as probably he was, in the habit of taking down *Brewer's* packets, this might have been no *fancy*! The most experienced physicians ascribe a large portion of the chronic complaints to this drugged beverage, which is no more *beer* than one of Lord *Castlereagh's* speeches, or "*Statepapers*," is *English*. It is, as the *Apothecaries* write on their phials, "*the mixture*;" and, would to God it were inefficient as "*the mixture*" generally is!

But, besides the consideration of *health*, which, however, is a matter of the first importance, there is the *morality*: the happiness of families and the peace and safety of society, are to be considered here. For, I look upon it as an undeniable truth, that there can be none of these *without bellies* pretty well filled with tolerably good victuals and drink. If I had a poor and immoral, that is to say, *thieving* family to reform, I would put a flitch of bacon on

the rack and a barrel of beer in the pantry. A quarter of malt and a fat hog will do more towards keeping labouring people honest, and sober too, than all the "*religious tracts*" that the *Soldier's Bishop* ever distributed, "*pious and apostolic*," as he was. You preach in vain (in *England* at least), if you put such comfort in an empty belly. In *Ireland*, indeed, if we are to believe the *high eulogiums*, which the landlords bestow on the "*resignation*" of the poor labourers, men will be satisfied with the extreme *starvation*. In this part of the kingdom I am very certain that nothing but an inward application will produce "*resignation*," whatever else may produce *submission*. *Content* and *lustre* can never co-exist; and, the honest and cheap way of keeping the peace, is to keep people's bellies full. People in that state may easily be "*governed*." They want very little of what can be called *government*. The constable's staff and the sheriff's wand are quite sufficient. No regiment of dragoons are wanted. *Full bellies* are the "*cheap defence of nations*;" and that defence is not to be found in these *trifles* and *poisons*: about the virtues of which the old back, *Shakespeare*, makes such a fuss.

If people are all well off; I mean all people that work; and the vagabonds would be but few comparatively: if the great body of the people were *well off*, they would be *content*. No "*demagogue*" could *persuade* them that a full belly was an empty one. If they were contented, there could be no disturbance of *the peace*. There could be no need of a thundering standing army to keep such a people in awe. In awe of *what*? Why need they be made *afraid*? Who could have an interest in their being *frightened*? But, if they be hungry (in *England* at least), they will be discontented. The discontent will show itself in some way or other. It will, first or last, break out into *acts*; and *force* is necessary to quell it. This is, and always has been, the progress: heavy taxes, lay them on as high as you may, press downwards till they produce hunger in the labouring classes: they show their discontent in various ways, and at last come to acts of violence. An army is necessary to oppose these acts. Hence *more taxes*. And thus is country placed in a state very little short of never-ceasing civil war. The best state of such a country is but a sort of *truce*, or cessation of arms.

It is in vain to talk of education in the case of a half-starved people. The *Tract People* think they are very *cunning* in preaching up to the labourers *resignation* under a state of want, while they themselves are bursting with fat, drawn out of the labour of those to whom they preach. They deceive themselves. They may *Tract* it as long as they please: they will never make man believe, that he has not a *right* to a belly-full from his constant labour; and that, talk of property and law as long as you like, it is not lawful for him, by one means or another, to get that belly-full. A very curious adventure happened to me one day, last Spring, relative to these *Tracts*. I was waiting for a coach in Piccadilly, looking out of the coffee-room window, at which also were two gentlemen just come out of Sussex. We saw a sort of beggar, holding a *pamphlet* up to the departing coaches, as if for sale. I said, "I wonder, now, what that fellow is selling." One of the gentlemen (neither of whom knew me) said, "I dare say it's *Cobbett's Register*." "Oh, no!" said I, "that is too *ungodly* for such a pious looking hawker." We went out to buy one, price a *penny*: and it was a *Tract* against the

"*Sin of Smuggling!*" It was published by one *Collins*, who, it seems, is the agent of this *Tract Crew*. It was entitled a "*Dialogue on the coast*," or something in that way. A dish of poor, miserable *sophistry* and *cant*, which will never make any creature believe, that it is an *offence against God* to drink a glass of gin that has not been legalized by an *exciseman's stick*. Why could not the meddling fools let *this subject* alone? But, their vanity is equal to their hypocrisy. They conceit, that it is their *Tracts* that keep hungry people quiet. *Others* know better; and, therefore, the *Barracks* are judiciously planted about and well filled. And this is the short and long of the matter: there must be full bellies or full barracks.

As I dislike the latter exceedingly, it has been my constant endeavour to assist, with all my might, in causing the former. A full belly to the labourer is, in my opinion, the foundation of public morals and the only source of real public peace. With this opinion in my mind, I wrote and published my little work, called *COTTAGE ECONOMY*, of which, in conclusion, I have to say a word or two for the information of the

reader. In the first edition of that work I treated of *private brewing*, a thing which I was very anxious to promote, and in the promoting of which I have, I am happy to believe, done a good deal. But, as to the *act* of brewing; that is to say, as to the mode of *doing the thing*, I contented myself with directions applicable to the *Patent Brewing Machine*, which from its high price, could not be of *general use*, and of which, indeed, after a careful trial, I have thought proper to abandon the use, for the reasons stated in the *new edition* of my little work. The directions being applicable to this *Machine*, became quite defective, in case it was not used. I have, therefore, written this part of my work *anew*, and have given directions *so plain* as to every part of the business, that I think no one can possibly misunderstand any part of them. I have accurately described all the *utensils*; and have shown, that, even for a considerable family, the cost of them does not exceed *seven pounds ten shillings*, though, with proper care, they will all last *half a century*.

I observed, in the first edition of the *Cottage Economy*, that, though I then recommended (to

those who could afford it) to see the *Potter Machine*, yet, if I should discover any thing more advantageous, and more likely to promote the object that I had in view, I should communicate it to my readers. This I have now done. The new edition is published this day; the price is 2s. 6d.

I cannot conclude these remarks without pointing out to my readers the necessity of supporting Mr. Brougham's Bill by petition. He himself called upon the public to do this; and, it will be very necessary; for the *Bung-bale Aristocracy* took care to set their agents or servants, the public-house keepers, to work to petition against the Bill; that is to say, against the *labouring classes getting good and cheap beer!* Verily, nothing ever surpassed this in point of impudence. These people were set on by their master of the *Bung*. They could have no interest of their own in preventing such a law from being passed. They must, if they wished still to deal in beer, have desired such a law; for it would release them from their slavery to the *Bung*. They might then sell beer without asking leave of any one; and real beer too, and not be compelled to sell the drugged stuff of their present employers,

and thereby merit the manifestations of a half-paisnot neighbourhood. It was their masters, therefore, that urged them on to these petitions, which they were compelled to sign on pain of being "bundled into the road."

However, the *Bungbale Aristocracy* is a strong body. The parts are strong, and the combination is close and firm. It will move with might and main next Session of Parliament; and, unless the people petition, the Bill may be lost. Recollect, we ought, that amongst the *Bungbale Aristocracy*, there are some of the biggest "Patriots" of the day. There is the "*Reformer*," Mr. WYTHAM, and there are many others whose names do not appear on the boards, with such flaming letters on them over the public-house doors and on the sign-posts. Mr. HENNING's father is a brewer still, I believe, as well as a banker, and Commissioner of *Nabob of Arrot Debt*. The "young gentleman" himself (the Member for Westminster) did not say any thing in favour of the Bill; but, let us hope, that his thousands of hard-working constituents are to have his support upon this trying occasion. *Patriotism* here or *patriotism* there, let us have good and cheap

door. That is one of the things, and one of the main things too, that the people want, and that they promise themselves from a *Reform of the Parliament*; and I shall not be easily made to believe, that he who refuses cordially to support this Bill is in earnest as to *Reform* or any thing else likely to do the common people any good.

The pretence of the Brewers is, that they have *laid money out* on the public-houses. And, who does not lay money out when they get houses? But, they mean that the *licences* have cost them money. That we can believe easily enough; but, did the law ever intend that they should be able to purchase a monopoly in the selling of beer? If that be the case the Government ought to have the selling of the *benefit* of the licence; for then the money might come into the Treasury, and cause some of our taxes to be taken off. But, what *right* have these people to put forward any such claim? They say, that they have "*vested interests*" in public-houses. They say that the law has *tolerated* their acquiring a monopoly of those houses. They have, indeed, done it while the law has been in force. The Parliament has winked at it; but, what *law* is there for

the monopoly? In short, this is a most impudent pretence, and one which, if generally put forward and tolerated, would forbid the Parliament from doing any act to protect the people from being plundered of their last penny, and then stripped of their very skins, to gratify the greedy dispositions of this, that and the other band of unsparing monopolists.

There is no doubt, that to take the tax off the salt will annoy the salt-dealers. It must; for, on account of a tax of 18s. they lay on 18s. in price of salt. The heavier the tax the more they get. But, must the salt-tax not be taken off, then, and people left to make their own salt? And, yet, I can see no reason that the Bunghole Aristocracy have to object to Mr. Brougham's Bill; than the Salt-men would have to object to the tax on salt being taken off. At this rate, no tax must ever be taken off or reduced; and thus these Bunghole "*Patriots*," who want reform in every thing else, want no reform, no change, in that which gives them what they call a "*vested right*" in the very sweat of the people, which renders it impossible for a thirsty labourer or journeyman to quench his thirst without paying large tribute to them, in order to enable

them to ride fine horses, to hector and storm about, to bully at elections, and, in short, to do all those things which such an Aristocracy may be expected to do.

Brewer? What does that word mean? A man that *makes beer*; and a *Public Brewer* means a man that makes beer to sell to the *public*. But, is there any law giving a *privilege* to this class of men? Is there any reason for not making a law to take from them any thing that they may possess wrongfully to the injury of the people at large? Nobody wishes to *overhaul* them for the past; but, surely, they have had enough of gains, and we enough of their drugs. It is one of the first duties of the Government to protect the poor against the rich, and especially against the monopolies of the rich. One of the greatest grievances of the French, and one of the great causes of *the Revolution* was, the *monopolies* that were enjoyed by the Church

and the Nobility; such, for instance, as compelling people to *bake their bread at their ovens*, and to *press their grapes at their wine-presses*. But, was either of these more *odious* than the monopoly of our Brewers, and was it half so insulting to the people and *dangerous to their health*? Is the monopoly any more bearable because it is carried on by Brewers, and not by Lords and Parsons? Can we swallow their drugs with the greater pleasure, because some of them profess to be "*Patriots*?" Does the word "*Patriot*" serve the purpose of covering and sanctifying the most grinding extortion? If it do, the sooner we get rid of the cheat the better. I think the very first thing is, to see, if possible; that the labouring classes *live well*; and all who would prevent that I deem enemies of the country.

WM. COBBETT.

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TO THE

BOROUGHMONGERS.

*On Castlereagh's cutting his
Throat, and on their own pre-
bable Fate.*

Stepning, Sussex, 21 August 1822.

BOROUGHMONGERS,

THE last time I addressed you I did it from Long Island. It was in a few months after I had fled across the sea to avoid the dungeons of Sidmouth. It was in the memorable year 1817, when the *Petitions for Reform* were answered by Bills to enable the Ministers to shut whom they pleased up in any prison that they pleased and for any length of time that they pleased. It was in the year of *Sidmouth's Circular*. It was in the year of the

hanging of the brave *Cashman*.

It was in the year when the *stern-path* man said, that the *funds had risen* in consequence of the passing of the *dungeon* and the gagging bills. It was, in short, in the year of your most *insolent* triumph; though you have always been insolent when the people have been suffering from oppression. It was in the year when one of the most hardened and infamous of you said, that such a *fuss* need not be made about the *dungeoning*; for, what was it? It was, at most, the *abstracting* of a few dozen of individuals from *society*. The cold-blooded and insolent tyrant, who uttered those words, is a fair specimen of the *whole* of you.

Your affairs are a little changed now. I told you they would change. Read my letter, that

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I have mentioned above. See how truly I told your fortune ~~that~~ *far*. But, before I proceed to consider what will probably be your *safe*, let me express to you my *satisfaction that Castlereagh has cut his throat*. Amongst the reasons that I have for this satisfaction is my thorough recollection of the transactions of 1809. In the month of May of that year (See Register) he was accused of *bargaining for a seat in Parliament in exchange for a post in India*. The matter was brought before the Honourable House. That Honourable body voted him an acquittal, because, though the bargain had been made, the act had not been *completed*. But the Honourable House, in order to impress on our minds a high notion of its purity, *resolved* at the same time, that the *purity* of the House ought to be most *jealously watched over* and most *carefully preserved*!

Very well! This was doing a good deal. Those must be incredulous, indeed, who could, after

this, doubt of the *purity* of that body. The act was not *complete*. It had been contemplated; but it had not been *done*. The House could not punish that which had only been *thought about*. It did, indeed, go beyond the thought: it went so far as a *bargain*; but, the bargain had not been acted upon: the goods had not been *delivered*. And, therefore, the House, always equally *just* and *pure*; full of *purity*, but not less full of *justice*; not less tender of the *rights* than of the *purity* of its Members, could not proceed to punishment; but, it took care to *resolve* most solemnly, that it would so have proceeded, if the act *had been completed*; that is to say, if the *swap* or *truck* had actually taken place.

This was very fine, and all was snug again, and all, if possible, purer than ever. But, as the evil genius of *Boroughmongering* would have it, in a very few

days afterwards, Mr. *Maddocks* came to the House, and offered to present the bar, that a seat

in that House had been sold by Castlereagh to Mr. Quintin Dick, and, that the thing had been done by Castlereagh with the knowledge and concurrence and connivance of Perceval, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Maddocks was not to be bothered or browbeaten out of the thing; and, he, at last, made his charge in distinct terms, and then moved for leave to produce his evidence at the bar.

Before he did this, however, he moved the reading of the famous purity-resolution, above-mentioned; which declared, that, it was only because the act was not completed, that the House did not then proceed to punishment.

Well, then? There was now a completed act. And, what did the House do on the motion of Mr. Maddocks for producing evidence at the bar? I need not tell you, Boroughmongers. You know well all about it. But, a part of the public may have forgotten it; and, a large part of the young men of this day; and, it

is on the young men that the fate of the country must depend; a large part of the young men, who have seen Castlereagh cut his throat, were little boys when he was accused of selling the seat to Quintin Dick. They, therefore, ought to be told what the Honourable House did when the completed act was offered to be proved at their bar, and when a motion was made for that purpose.

Castlereagh and Perceval, both Privy Counsellors as well as Ministers of the King and Members of the Parliament, were present. As soon as Mr. Maddocks had made his motion, Perceval rose. He said, that he should neither acknowledge nor deny; but, he submitted to the House, whether, at a time when the spirit of disaffection was abroad, and when designs manifestly existed to pull down all the institutions of the country; whether, at such a time, the House would lend itself to a proceeding like this, which could have no other effects than

those of gratifying the malignity of those who wished to subvert social order and our holy religion and of paving the way for the ultimate success of that nefarious wish! Having said this, *Perceval* retired, amidst the cheering of his auditors! Then rose *Castlereagh*, and said, that, agreeing, as he did most heartily, in all that had been said by his Honourable friend, and confident as he was that the House would follow the advice which that Honourable friend had given it, he should not trouble the House with any thing on his own part! Then he retired, and was also cheered!

And, now what did the Honourable House do with Mr. Maddocks's motion for calling evidence to the bar? Why, they negatived the motion; they refused to hear the evidence; they voted, about four to one, that they would not suffer evidence to come to the bar; though they had voted only a few days before, that it was their duty to watch

over and to preserve the purity of the House! But, we must not forget, that this was not only done, but the occasion was made use of to revile the reformers; whom *Canning* called, a "low, degraded crew." In opposing the motion, he called upon the House "to make a stand against Democratical encroachment." *Lord Milton* said, that he should not think at all the worse of the accused parties even if the facts were proved; and *Mr. Ponsonby*, the leader of the "Opposition," said, that the things charged were practised by all parties, and were "as notorious as the sun at noon-day," and, on that ground, he opposed the motion.

These things, Boroughmongers, it is right that the young men of the present day should know; and, if they wish for further particulars, let them see the Register of 11th May, 1809. Then let the young men reflect on the end of *Perceval* and *Castlereagh*. They retired amidst cheers in 1809! Did they retire amidst

cheers at last! Let the young men reflect on these things, and it will do them more good; it will do more towards making them just, humane, and public-spirited; it will give them a greater horror for corruption and every species of villany, than the hearing of ten thousand sermons, though from the mouth of a *Bishop*.

But, you, Boroughmongers, horrid Boroughmongers, you will be softened into justice by nothing but the *force of events*. This Castlereagh was, however, your *cock*. You looked up to him more than to any other man. You thought, that there was *nothing* that he would not do in *your cause*; and you *all* liked him, one of you as much as the other, whatever some of you might pretend. He was the favourite of you *all*; and for precisely the reasons that he was abhorred by the people of England. His insolent proposition to set men to "*dig holes one day and to fill them up the next*," had in it sufficient to entitle him to everlasting detestation;

for, what was it but this: that, if they could not be starved to death, they should, at least, be compelled to *toil* for what they got in the way of *relief*, though the *toil* were *useless*. Such an idea never entered into the mind of any man not filled with the spirit of Boroughmongering.

His "*education of the country*" was another mark of his insolent disposition that deserves particular notice. He had called the people of London, who stood so nobly forward in defence of the injured Queen, the "*basest populace*." He had uniformly treated the Reformers as wretches to be hunted off the face of the earth. He had been the agent in bringing forward law after law to cramp, degrade, and punish them. He had always spoken of them as deluded and brutal things. According with this idea he had proposed laws to prevent the common people from meeting, at their pleasure, *even to petition*. County Meetings, however, were still permitted, subject to great restraints

and only at the pleasure of the King was the counter-act in order to
 State's opinion by the King, that the threat-act was
 might. Well, some of these, under actually, intense while sitting in
 all these restrictions; takes place; council with the King; though,
 and, the County of Suffolk, thus notwithstanding this alleged do-
 assembled; petition for a Reform, called a matter of insanity, the office
 of the Parliament. And, what of the three Secretaries of State
 does this man of instance then were left in his hands, and he was
 say? Why, that "he would stay left to prepare himself for going
 peat from such meetings to the to represent the King at a Con-
 edication of the country!" That gress of the Holy Alliance! This
 is to say, to himself, his colleagues, was, then, "the education of the
 to go, and to minister to the country," this was what was to
 the future. If the education of the be appealed to from the petitions
 country were not to be found in of the people in County Meeting
 a County Meeting, where was it assembled; this was what English
 to be found? If a County Meeting were to be set down before
 was, as another was said, was in this was that education to the
 solemnly to call it, "a farce," perior light of which we were
 what was there left? What be- yield upon our constitution; this was
 longing to our rights and liber- that education to the distant ef-
 fice was not a farce; and, what which we were to yield implicit-
 were we, the people of England; obedience, and, on the place
 what, according to the other Irish, and measures of which we were
 men were we but a set of brutes? to rely for our own happiness.

It is curious enough that one and for the hundred and forty
 of their should have uttered these of our sovereignty and that
 and that the opinion of the other if we did not do so, we were to
 should have been brought forward to be treated as the British
 in, under to show that we were not to be treated as such.

For many years past, and likely that sort of imbecility which call upon the public to attend them makes men incapable of crediting facts. I have asserted, that the mischievous measures, but that greatest, the most marked characteristic of the Ministry has been folly. The other qualities when tempered to those have been evident enough. But, as I have so many times observed, every stage and almost every step of their ruinous and horrible progress. They have been duly told; that such and such, their intentions, if acted upon, would produce such and such calamities. They have invariably rejected the advice, despised the warning, often punished, as far as they were able, the persons giving the warning; and the predicted consequences have invariably followed. You, or, rather, the people, for all truth is thrown away on you; the ruined landlords, farmers and traders have only to walk through the Register for the last 18 years. It is a register of the warnings given to this Government; a register of the contempt of those warnings; and a register of the ruinous consequences, even to the very letter.

in misapprehension; and, in all cases, to the substance.

Only a few weeks ago I addressed a Register to this very man who has now cut his throat. In that Register, which, by-the-by, was much more likely to be the cause of his throat-cutting, than the causes assigned by his friends; in that Register I reminded him of what I said to him in the year 1815, when he was making such fine treaties, when he was bargaining about the Museums, and Napoleon, and when he was clapped and huzzed by the very basest crowd, the most degraded and most cruel and cowardly and infamous gang of vagabonds that ever disgraced the human form. In that Register I reminded him of what I addressed to him at that time of his "glory." I showed him, that I then foresaw and foretold how low he and his colleagues would sink England. I showed him, that all the present calamities and all the greater that are approaching, having been clearly pointed out to him as the

inevitable consequences of the measures he was pursuing, he now became responsible for having rejected the advice and despised the warning; and that, upon every sound principle known amongst men, that advice and that warning were good evidence against him. I told him, and I was in earnest, that, if I were a Member of Parliament, I would not, as to this matter, amuse myself with speeches; but, that I would accuse him and his colleagues of being the cause of the nation's sufferings; and, that I would do this, too, in regular form; in good plain charges, first, second, third, and so on; and let them rub them out if they could. This I certainly would do: a nation is not to be brought to ruin in the way that this has been without responsibility some where! There is no saying what was the precise cause; but, I will say for myself, that, if I had been in Castlereagh's place, the Register for the last twelve months would have been the likeliest thing in the

would to make me cut my throat; and his colleagues must be fellows, with heads of solid bone, if they can think of the Gridiron with any thing like tranquillity of mind; a reflection which will by no means tend to retard the public exhibition of that ordinary implement.

In this man there was every thing odious, but particularly his insolence, another instance of which I am now going to remind you of, because you applauded him for it. You applauded all his acts; but the one I am going to refer to was an object of your marked approbation, which you expressed in your usual way; that is to say, by *brutal* noise. This was, his saying of *me* (for me he clearly meant), that I had the "ambition to aim at office" without any thing to qualify "him [me] for it." In the first place this was a *falsehood*; and, in the next place it was *base*ly insolent. "Office," indeed! As if every man, who takes a part in the discussing of public matters

wants a place and plunder. As if that were the only way in which an ambitious mind could be gratified. As if there were no fame equal to that of being a tax-eater. But, what idea of fame had he, or could he have? What did he, or could he, set a value on, but those things which a man of mind must despise? A man that could live twenty-seven years and make part of a Government under which such a nation as this was suffering what it has suffered, could have no idea of what a love of fame really is. But, at any rate, was I less qualified for "office" than he? Could I have been more than a *casane*? That is a foolish maxim that says we are not to speak evil of the dead: it is the maxim of knaves imposed on fools. We are to say nothing but *truth* of the dead, and the same rule we ought to observe towards the living. And, surely, this is an occasion for my remarking on this particular instance of this man's insolence. He was a pretty fellow indeed to impute to me the

highly potent the crime of sinning, you nothing to do but to issue at "office." He who now is Exchequer Bill, made Loans made out to have been insane and empty Soldiers; but, the while, he was leading the House, moment it came to him peaceable of Commons, and whose speeches, a fair; the moment that he would and propositions, for years and supplies could not be had even years, afforded such striking, through the means of irresistible proofs of imbecility, physical force, they seem to have

In 1818 I declared him to be known nothing at all of what was out of his mind. His language necessary to be done. Never in the debates upon Mr. Wice was there anything more edifying to the nation in that year, and than the history of the conduct of about the time of that motion, these men. A most useful work carried out was that he was what would be to trace the evils which they could commit, or that he was, this nation has suffered, and as at the very least the wildest of yet to suffer to the imbecility of mortals. His definition of the their mind; to show, not only effects of sin upon capital was that the evils of such and such a really sufficient as could not have nature have arisen from such and come out of a man's head, though such measures, but to show also. *Longer Schick* repeated it, about the imbecility, in the second 18 months ago, during his speech, which produced the man against the poor. *Dispute Evans* says. I did this, in one of my But, indeed, the argument is by Long Island Register, with some measure to think about good to *Reck's Bill*. I will send the management of the nation's time would undertake to go, in this, affairs with the London paper way, through the whole of the next month, all the newspapers appear of this settlement. I will not to have lost their senses. They are. I have had enough of their confidence very well, while they honestly follow. I shall content

myself with triumphing in the fulfilment *person*! Never again, after
fulfilment of my predictions; and long as this system lasts, will any
with utterance this confession that I stand fast, such obsequious, self-
myself and my country in existence. I am. The very announcement that
will finally plunge themselves into a crawling along after him like a cow.
But, if anyone would bestow the at the heels of a retreating, (will)
time and trouble, our children now begin to reflect on their folly,
might benefit from such a work, and to feel shame at their former
self-degradation.

It would seem, at first sight, that the case are could lose nothing by the death of this silly creature. But, this is a concern of a singular character. It does not stand upon sense and reason. Those who have the carrying of it on, need not be overburdened with understanding. Indeed men of real knowledge and talent never could make it wag as it lies. But, notwithstanding this, the throat-cutting will produce a great effect. Some are talking about the difficulty to find a man to supply the place of Castlereagh; but, the thing for the Ministers to look after is, something that will make those who followed at his heels forget that it has now been proved, that they were, all the while, crouching to and confiding in an

And you, horrid Broughams, you, who are straggled up to the chin in fraud, perjury, bribery, corruption; you, who are the most unjust, base and shameless of mankind; nothing will correct you, nothing but the force of truth. You would see one half of the nation starved and the other half murdered; before you would yield your probable corruption. But, there are others who will have a strong impression produced on their minds by the man's death, under such circumstances; and proceeding, as it did, immediately from his own hand. I (repeating my opinion expressed before) anticipate a good deal of change of opinion amongst those who have the power to grant and to

refuse supplies of money. These than that of pinning one's faith on persons, and particularly that part, another's sleeve. Such men as of them who have most weight and those that I have in my eye have influence in the several counties never thought for themselves; till, of the kingdom, have been accustomed, for a long time, to look up at last, to rely on the judgment of to CASTLEREAGH as a sort of successor of PITT; that is to say, as others has become part of the a man able by some means or character of their minds. The another, to carry them through weight of office is also prodigious in their difficulties; difficulties which in producing that species of subjection of which I am speaking. If we see a man with a gown and they saw themselves much more wig on, for instance, it requires clearly than he did; but, still, positive evidence to make us believe scores of them, each with a vast believe that he is not learned in the deal more sense and talent than law. The very name of Doctor he leaned on him as a prop amidst of Divinity demands proof to their dangers. This may seem make us believe that the man is strange; but it is not the less not pious; to have been a Minister true for being strange. I have for twenty years; to have represented the KING at a Congress not the smallest doubt, that many, of Sovereigns; to have been a who have appeared to regard him leader of the House of Commons as a superior being, have, each of for ten years; to have been, in them, ten times the real judgment and talent that he had; because, in short, the man selected on all occasions to bear the brunt in difficult it is next to impossible for a man circumstances: these, upon the face of them, demand a belief to have less of either; and this I in his talents and resources of have been saying for years and mind. We forget all the while, have proved a thousand times who those are by whom he has over. But, there is a good deal in habit; and in no habit more

been selected and empowered: we take the office as an evidence of the talent, and we place our reliance accordingly. To these we must add the confident manner; the artful reserve; the sort of oracular phraseology of the man. Perhaps, and most likely, this was not the effect of design, but that of a happy confusion of ideas. Impudence was the main ingredient. Men of common modesty could not bring themselves to believe, that there was nothing in the head of such a man; nor could they reconcile it to any thing like reason, that so many other men could suffer him to stand above them in office unless upon the ground of their conviction of his superiority. Hence it was that CASTLEREAGH found at his heels men, and many men, of good natural abilities. It must be confessed, that he was a good deal shaken in their opinions, during the last Session of Parliament. That resource of mind, for which he had so long had credit, was found to be wanting in him; and

he himself was made to perceive that the discovery had been made. Nevertheless, he still retained a large portion of the confidence of the persons of whom I have been speaking. Now, however, he is not only gone, but gone in a manner to perform miracles in the opening of these persons eyes. They now see, that it may have been a madman that they were listening to instead of an oracle. Men are apt to run backward as fast as they have been running forward; and I shall be very much deceived, if we do not see this remark verified when the Parliament shall meet again. The stupidest of animals are not easily caught a second time in the *same trap*; and I shall be much deceived, if the Country Gentlemen of England be a second time induced to look up with admiration, and to drag on a mental servitude to any one who shall talk of *sudden transitions from war to peace; of digging holes one day and filling them up the next; and of preserving national faith by*

stripping the landlords of their estates; the Farmers and Gravel-owners of their capital; and the Labourers and Journey-men of their wages. That, though he may be perfectly sane, Canning, if chosen, will not be able to get along a month without a further, and a much further, repeal of taxes! And how is that

Some conjecture, that Canning to take place without a reduction of the interest of the debt? And how is that to take place without a Reform of the Parliament? And how is that to take place without driving you to cut your throats?

The prices of farm-produce are now indeed beginning to find their natural level. And, what sort of level is this for you and your traffic? If rents could not be paid before; if farmers were unable to hold up their heads last year; what is to be the case now? In all human probability good wheat will soon come to four shillings a bushel on an average. That is about the mark; and, with these prices and present taxes, no rent can be paid; and, when no rent is paid, the Fund-lands and Waterloo and the Horse-Guards and Whitehall have, in fact, the ownership of the whole

of the lands. To prevent this, the House of Commons by taxes enormous must be taken off that Chatterbox who has now cut his throat. The predictions regarded as the reverie of Mr. Wren, will be a reality. And do you think, that the talk of "national faith" and "the sum of prosperity" and about "democratisation" will make men give up their last shilling in ready? Yet, give it up they must, if there be no reform; for, without that there can be no reduction of the interest of the Debt, and without that, it is impossible to reduce taxes to any considerable amount.

We seem, therefore, horrid Bo-roughmongers, to be coming to that state anticipated and described by me in my *Leave-taking address*. Recollect the passage

where I compare the Landlords to the ruined gamester in *Hogarth*.

Let the Landlords read that passage now, and then think of the fact, that, when it was written, its author was preparing for flight to a foreign land to avoid the dungeons provided by a Bill brought

contained in that Address, are actually in the course of fulfilment. I then expressed a doubt, whether a reduction of the interest of the Debt could take place without Reform. I am now confident it cannot; so that, the choice lies between a Reform of Parliament, or loss of estates to the present owners; and, even the latter will only put off Reform for a while. So that, horrid Bo-roughmongers, you are sped go the thing which way it may. I know, that the thought will make you desperate; but to make you more desperately wicked than you have been, and are, is impossible.

This island has not been able to bound your malignity. You have scowled like fiends on man wherever you have seen him free, or likely to be free. The *State of France* as described in an Article in another part of this Register, has given, and gives, you anguish

the that which devils ~~subvert~~ the ~~same~~ which spreads alarm and
 sight of human felicity. To Spain, and Portugal your eyes are now
 directed, in the hope that tyranny, ~~at last~~, be re-established
 over the mangled carcasses of
 a people. You will be de-
 ceived there too. Never will the
 Spaniards and Portuguese again
 be slaves; and never the dupes
 of a *slam* representation. It is a
 hard case, that, no where in the
 world, you can find a people in
 love with the glorious fabric of
 Boroughmongering, though it has,
 you and your tools say, been for
 ages the envy of surrounding na-
 tions and admiration of the world.
 Strange indeed, that no people
 upon earth will take it up!

Quit these hopes, horrid Bo-
 roughmongers, horrid dealers in
 bribery and perjury, monsters of
 fraud and cruelty, hypocrites un-
 paralleled, quit these hopes, and
 let me bring you back once more
 to things that must take place,
 and that must affect you. It is
 said of the screech-owl, that it
 delights in that war of the ele-

which spreads alarm and
 destruction on all around. With
 much more truth may it be said,
 that you, horrid Boroughmongers,
 delight in those events and cir-
 cumstances, which make the mass
 of mankind miserable; and with
 perfect truth may it be asserted,
 that every thing which is good for
 the people of England is bad for
 you. That harvest, the like of
 which has not been seen for just
 three score years; that great bleas-
 ing which Providence, in its
 bounty, has been pleased to be-
 stow on us, is a curse, and a
 deadly curse to you, horrid Bo-
 roughmongers.

Where are now all the hopes of
 the stern-path men? Where are
 now the hopes, expressed in the
 Agricultural Report of 1821, that
 prices would rally? Horrid Bo-
 roughmongers, read the *Ten Let-
 ters to Landlords*; read the *Rustic
 Harangues at Battle and at Hunt-
 ington*, and see how truly I told
 the Farmers' fortunes! See how
 much better I understood these
 matters than the oracles on whom

you have rented. It is useless for
 you to *renew* and *bully*. The
Parliament now to be dealt with
 yield to neither noisy speeches
 nor to bayonets. Another batch
 of laws equal to *Six Acts* would
 not raise the price of wheat the
 millionth part of a farthing a
 bushel; and, again and again I
 say, the *Parliament* must be re-
 formed, or every inch of land
 must pass away from the present
 owners.

Here, horrid Boroughmongers,
 I should stop; or, I should merely
 add, that I look upon you as being
all alike, all equally worthy of
 detestation, whatever your *profes-*
sions may be, and whether your
 traffic be great or small. I have
 not forgotten the horrid Borough-
 monger, who ordered all those of
 his tenants to be *turned out* who
 were Reformers, or *relatives* of
 Reformers! This was a rule that
 may serve as a guide for others.
 I should stop here; but, I have to
 notice the *burying* of Castlereagh;
 and I cannot possibly find a fitter

The folly of his survivors must
 be equal to his own, or, surely,
 they would not have chosen *West-*
minster Abbey as the place! This
 was the case, however; and on
 Tuesday, the 20th instant, the
 body was carried from his house
 in *St. James's Square* (to which
 it had been brought privately, dur-
 ing the preceding night) to the
 Abbey Church in the usual way
 of a private funeral. It was at-
 tended by all the Ministers in their
 coaches, and by a great number
 of other persons in the same way.
 The hour chosen for the purpose
 was *nine o'clock in the morning*,
 just the hour when all working
 people are busy at their work.
 Nevertheless, there were not less
 than from 10 to 15,000 persons col-
 lected about the Abbey Church.
 The windows of the houses on the
 line of the procession were *not*
closed up, except those of the
 public offices. Little demonstra-
 tion of *public feeling* was disco-

great, all the coffins taken out of the hearse to be carried into the Church, when "the basest populace" gave three such cheers as have seldom been heard even in London. A "great" man put forth his hand and waved it in sign of his command for silence, which brought a discordant mixture of sisses, groans, and laughter. The Abbey Church doors (within which none had been admitted without tickets) were instantly closed, and the loud uproar ceased. But the multitude continued to increase instead of diminish, until it was far greater than that which had been at the same spot on the day of the Coronation, when this very Castlereagh, surrounded by an immense army, showed, in a remarkable manner, his exultation. This, brave and persecuted CAROLINE, was the very spot where your mighty heart burst! Those Abbey doors that were closed against you, were now opened to receive the self-destroyed body of him who brought down the Green Bag against you! Aye, and that

very *Holme's* *Sumner*, who stood foremost in opposing the insertion of your name in the Liturgy, was amongst the mourners over this self-destroyed body! Such reflections did not fail to be made by "the basest populace" now assembled, and to whom that appellation was given by Castlereagh, when they so nobly stood forward in defence of the injured Queen.

Now, horrid Boroughmongers, will you say that this conduct of the people was such as never before was seen in the people of England; so justly famed for their merciful disposition, for their compassionate feelings, and for readiness to forgive injuries? Very true; but, had the people of England ever before witnessed scenes like that of 16th August? Had they ever before witnessed things like those done to the *Carliles* and to *Joseph Stann*? Did the people of England ever before live under *Six-Acts*? Were English Printers ever before compelled to give bail even before they began to print? Were English writers and printers ever before

liable to be banished for life if they uttered any thing having a tendency to bring either House of Parliament into contempt? Did the people of England ever before see whole parishes of people dying with starvation, while the King's Ministers asserted, that there existed an over-production of food?

Therefore, horrid Borough-mongers, if there be a change in the conduct of the people; if their feelings, on an occasion like this, be not what they used to be, have we not here a sufficient cause? If there be a change in their feelings, has there not also been a change in their treatment? Let those whom it may concern reflect on this; for, let us hope, that such reflection may be yet not too late.

In conclusion, horrid Borough-mongers, let me once more express myself delighted at the state in which I now behold you. Your traffic must cease in spite of all you can do to prevent it. The difficulties are too great to be overcome by any thing short of that which will annihilate your infat-

uous trade for ever. All circumstances, foreign as well as domestic, conspire to produce this effect; and if, which is very likely, your lives should become insupportable under a state of things that would insure the happiness of the people, and the true glory of the country and the King, the remedy, as Castlereagh has taught you, is always in your own hands.

W. M. CORBETT.

MAD MINISTER.

THE COURIER Newspaper, well known to be a dead hinking, has made some statements, relative to the madness of Castlereagh, which are of the greatest importance to the people of this kingdom and to the King and his family. The object of these statements is to show, that the deceased was mad for a good while before he cut his throat. It is notorious, that all this good while the COURIER was crying him up to the skies for his wisdom. Now, however, the tone is wholly changed; and, we are told, that this man, whom I, in contempt of him on account of his folly, used to call "our great go-

"*Effect philosopher*," was a real crazy man at the time when the COURIER was holding him forth as the greatest statesman of the age. This is a comfortable discovery for us amongst all our difficulties! The COURIER also brings out, now, the letter of the "*Great Duke*," authenticated. I will first insert this curious document; then the Courier's testimonials of madness; and will then add a few remarks on both.

Greatest Captain's Letter.

"*London, Aug. 9, 1822.*—DEAR SIR,—I called upon you with the intention of talking to you about Lord Londonderry, and of requesting you would call upon him. He promised me that he would send for you, but lest he should not, I entreat you to find some pretence for going down to him.—I entertain no doubt that he is very unwell. It appears that he has been over-worked during the session; and that his mind is overpowered for the moment and labours under a delusion. I state the impression made upon me in the interview I have just had with him. I told him that this was my impression; and I think it is his own, and he will probably communicate it to you; but lest he should not, I tell you what I think; begging you never to mention to any body what I have told you. I am setting out this moment for the Netherlands. I would have staid with Lord Londonderry, but he would not allow me. I shall be very much obliged to you, if you will write me a line, and have it left at my house, to let me know how you find him; and particularly if you think I am mistaken.—Ever, dear Sir, your's most faithfully,

(Signed) WELLINGTON."

Courier's Testimonials.

20 August 1822.

"His Lordship's manner to his Lady during the last two or three months was considerably changed; his observations or answers, which before were the kindest and most tender, were sometimes extremely petulant. It was remarked, too, that he was frequently absent, and even when there was company at his own table, that he has been twice addressed without replying. His memory had also greatly failed him, and, as Dr. Bankhead observed on the inquest, his Lordship is said to have himself complained of the defect. This was in him the more extraordinary, as previously no man possessed a better recollection, or confided more to it. In discharging his official or Parliamentary duties, he scarcely ever resorted to memoranda, but trusted with just dependence to his memory. The numberless instances in which he was thus able to recall at a moment's warning to the House of Commons, with the nicest accuracy of detail, the particulars of proceedings which had passed years before, must be familiar to all who have been in the habit of attending Parliamentary debates. A circumstance, however, which occurred in the House of Commons about six weeks back, will show, on the contrary, the melancholy reverse which was taking place. Two or three days before, an account was published in the newspapers of the capture of an English ship bound from Buenos Ayres with hides, by a Spanish vessel under an obsolete Spanish Colonial law. The British ship, it appeared, had been taken into Porto-Rico, and there condemned—part of the condemnation being published along with the account of her capture. To say nothing of advices, almost necessarily, having been officially received at the Foreign Office, of this transaction, before the public could have a knowledge of it, there is

great difficulty in conceiving that the Marquis of Londonderry, who daily saw, at least all newspapers of note, should pass over, or not have his notice called to an article of the importance just described; yet, when the subject was brought before Parliament, his Lordship, to the astonishment of every one present, declared that he had never heard of the case alluded to, and made his acknowledgments to Dr. Lushington for his proffer of the documents respecting it. This fact may be fairly taken as a distressing proof either of that declension of memory, or listlessness of mind, which but too truly demonstrates a loss of intellect. Something of the same decay of the faculties seems to have been indicated by the manner in which it was observed he lately used to mope about his seat at North Cray. He appeared oppressed in a sort of mysteriousness; walking about at a heavy lifeless pace, and alternately looking downwards, with his eyes fixed on the ground, or his face suddenly raised gazing at the Heavens. It was even observed at a late dinner at North Cray, which he gave to some distinguished persons (of whom it is said the Duke of York was one) that his Lordship on entering the parlour, without assigning any reason, requested the Duke of Wellington to take his Lordship's place at the table, while he sat in his Grace's. The most extraordinary aberration, however, which he committed previous to the prorogation of Parliament, was the treatment which his Excellency the French Ambassador experienced about a fortnight back. It is the *etiquette*, that the Minister of the Court where Foreign Ambassadors reside, always request them to call upon him, when he wishes for a conference, unless where the Minister of Foreign Affairs has a direct message to deliver from the King. Accordingly, about a fortnight ago, the Marquis of Londonderry sent a note to Viscount Cha-

teaubriand, requesting to see him at rather an unusually early hour on a following day. His Excellency, in conformity with the invitation, drove at the appointed time to his Lordship's house, and sent up his name. The Marquis of Londonderry was in his dressing-room; and when the servant announced that the French Ambassador was below, he desired the servant to say that he received no visitors that day! The man of course delivered this message, but Viscount Chateaubriand, conceiving there must be some mistake, desired him to remind his master that he had written for him to come. When the servant went up a second time and mentioned this circumstance, the Marquis of Londonderry, for the moment, recollected himself, and ordered his Excellency to be shown up—but strange to say, to his dressing-room instead of to the drawing-room! When the two Ministers met, of course some explanation passed, which helped to remove the awkwardness of the whole affair, and convinced the Foreign Nobleman that no slight was meditated towards him or his Court. Since, however, the unfortunate death of the Marquis of Londonderry has so awfully occurred, his Excellency sees a new solution for what previously, at best, appeared mysterious, and has mentioned the incident as it is now related. On Friday, when his Lordship came to town for the last time, it was remarked that he went three times successively to Carlton-house gate to wait upon his Majesty, and without entering, returned again to his house in St. James's-square. Once when he returned in this manner, he said that he should first go down to the office before he went to the King, and then as suddenly proceeded again to Carlton-Palace. After leaving his Majesty, he seems to have been conscious, for the first time, of the alarming state of his health, which he remarked that afternoon to Dr.

Bankhead. He also, while going down in the evening to North Cray, asked the Marchioness, "*Did I speak much nonsense to the King to-day?*" and then, as it were recollecting that she could give no answer, leaned back his head in the carriage, and seemed sunk in a sort of lethargy. All these painful circumstances, together with a multitude of others of a similar description, which the Marchioness herself has called to recollection, have, for the reason already mentioned, greatly reconciled her to the *Divine dispensation* with which she has been visited, and afford her Ladyship, as well as all his Lordship's immediate connexions, considerable relief from the grief in which they were at first overwhelmed.

Now, then, what have we here? Assertions of madness existing as far back as the *middle of the month of May*! The Great Captain's is a kind and a very proper letter; but, how came Castlereagh to be left; and to be left, too, at the head of the Government; for the office of the Home Secretary was left in his hands as well as his own office and that of Lord Bathurst? Suppose a *row* of some sort had happened in London, would not the military have been in pretty hands? In short, it is perfectly horrible to think of what might have taken place in any such case.

If this statement of the *Courier* be true, the House of Commons has had a mad leader ever since

the 11th of May at least; and, it is too much to suppose, that no part of the madness existed, till the symptoms became apparent. The *Viscount Chateaubriand*, that excellent novel-writer, now, the *Courier* tells us, sees a new solution of the conduct of our great hole-digging philosopher. And may not we see a "*solution*" of many and many sayings and acts that before made wise men laugh and even fools stare? This is the most satisfactory of all possible "*solutions*" of the project of making bank-notes a legal tender; for taking corn into warehouse, and for the grinding project; for the project of lending public money to the land-people until the price of corn should rise; aye, and for the "*Dead Charge*" project also, which Lord King, in his proposed preamble, treated as what it really was. Yes, we have now a complete "*solution*" of these and many other things, which before appeared wholly unsolvable. We shall watch the next batch of projects more narrowly, and shall be likely to trace them, at once, to their true cause, whatever pains may be taken to hide them from us.

To be sure, the pranks, here recorded, must be deemed proofs, or, at least, marks of madness;

but then, who are we to look to for having suffered the madman to go on *leading* the House of Commons after these pranks were played? It is not much more than three months, since the defunct jeered Mr. Brougham upon the supposed wish of the latter to *get his place*, and, with his usual modesty, observed, that the *House*, he thought, would not be inclined to repose confidence in so *rash* and *blind* a leader! The House, or, at least, a great part of it, *loudly cheered this*; little thinking, all the while, that it was cheering one whose *absolute insanity* was to be openly declared by his own friends before the end of the Session! Was it not the duty of his colleagues to inform the king of the madness as soon as they even *suspected it*? Was it *right* to leave him in possession of the powers of the three Offices of State? Was it *right* to appoint him to represent the king at the approaching Congress at Vienna?

But, it would be useless to multiply questions on the subject. The whole of the case is now plain to the public. Nothing can render it obscure. And, therefore, here, for the present, I leave it.

MOHE MADNESS!!!

"The Dog-star reigns!" — *Poet.*

The Old Times has, for a long time, discovered marks of "illness," "of mental delirium," of "mental delusion," and all the rest of that which is so fashionable now-a-days. But, on Tuesday last, in the morning, it broke out into a downright *raving*. The *Old Thing* is never deeply affected except you touch its *monstrum*. Its *sale* is its God; and, if that decline, it becomes first melancholy, and then perfectly furious. We have touched it lately rather rudely upon this tender string. It has, for many months, been falling under two oppressive causes. The *New Times* has been stripping it of the custom of all the *Anti-Jacobins* and *lovers of blood*, who formerly adhered to it when it *justified the massacre of the Protestants at Nismes*; when it *justified the killing of Marshal Ney*; when it called *so loudly for the blood of Napoleon*; when it *raved for the execution of poor Cashman*. Of these blood-lovers, the abler writing of the *New Times* has stripped it; for, bloody as men may be, they do not like a *bungling*

and brutal advocate of butchery. The *Morning Chronicle*, by its superior talents and industry has stripped it of all those readers who understand any thing of foreign affairs and who expect something like discussion on prominent matters at home. It is impossible to look at the two papers of Tuesday, for instance, without perceiving, that no man of sense, who can afford to take a Morning Paper, will look at the Old Times if he can get the Chronicle. Under these causes the Old Thing had been wasting away for many months, when its conduct with regard to the *Bishop and Soldier* (which it was impossible to ascribe to but one cause) gave it a twist downwards more rude than any that it had before received.—We, in the STATESMAN, gave it a friendly push; and, one day last week, we challenged it to swear to numbers published for the last month, and did not hesitate to offer a bet, that its numbers had sunk beneath ours.—This challenge, which it dared not accept (for we were prepared for detection in case of false swearing) seems to have set it raving; and, on Tuesday, out it bursted in the following paragraph, which we give word for word, letter for letter, and dash for dash.

"That exemplary vagabond; Cobbett, has got home at last, as we are credibly informed. The old vermin had raised the country by his everlasting depredations—and, pursued on all sides, he has been run to earth—where, reader? In the Treasury! We often said he was, or would be, in the pay of Ministers, if he escaped hanging. When he offered to write for them some years ago if they would let him out of gaol, they were wise enough to laugh at him, as the wretch's character was then past redemption, and the Ministers had yet some to lose. But time is a great accommodator of difficulties: they have lowered their pretensions, and the old sinner his price—both approximating to that point which the arithmeticians call Zero. There is a Member of Parliament residing somewhere about Blackheath, who, for his readiness to execute all the behests of his masters, the Ministers, used to go by a nick-name, importing that he would stick at nothing, not even his own perdition, to gratify them. To the house of this tool, or whipper-in, let the world—let his own crew of half-starved radicals—trace Cobbett, carousing with a crew of his familiars from Downing-street, drinking, speechifying, revelling in the consciousness of having degraded the King's servants by his society, duped the radicals by his hypocrisy, and sold the remnant of his existence, infamy and all, for a living out of the public money. If they picture to themselves this—it is a true picture. The rumpers of the Treasury have laid hold of this miscreant. They feast him, they pay him, they compound for his still abusing the Government, if he will only *fling dirt at the independent part of the press.*"

By "independent part of the press," the Old Thing means

itself, and, independent indeed it is, if independence means the being at liberty to go to the best market, and to suppress and stifle, for reasons too obvious to mention, as in case of the *Bishop and the Soldier*! Amongst all the symptoms of madness none is so usual and so conclusive as the party's conceiving himself to be something out-of-the-way great and important and thinking that *mighty machinations are going on against him*. Swift's Bedlamites conceit themselves emperors; and, in Don Quixote, the two madmen thought themselves the one *Jupiter* and the other *Neptune*. A madman that once came to us with some complaint was afraid to tell us his story in a room, lest the spies of the *Austrian Police*, who had been following him all over Europe, should hear what he said. And here we have this crazy *Old Newspaper* asserting, with all the gravity imaginable, that "*the Treasury*" compounds with us and pays us for all we say about *Peel's Bill*, about the *Bishop and the Soldier*, about *Castlereagh*, about the *Borough-mongers*, and about all the rest of the concern, the *Gridiron* into the bargain, on the sole condition that we will "*only fling dirt*" at this *Old Thing*, which, God knows, is

already a mass of mud from the crown of its head to the sole of its foot! In such a case, to delay to call in the *Doctor* would be inhuman; and, we hope, it will not be thought impertinent in us, if we recommend *Dr. O'Meara*. If cure be to be effected at all, we are quite satisfied it is only by strong and repeated applications to the *shoulders*.

SOLILOQUY.

(FROM A FRIEND IN SCOTLAND.)

Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE *solus*; sitting in a thoughtful posture. In his hand COBBETT'S LETTERS TO LANDLORDS. PEEL'S BILL on the table before him.

It must be so—Cobbett then reason'st well!

Else, whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,

This longing for Reformed Parliament? (sw)

Or whence this secret dread, and inward horror

Of losing our estates? Why shrinks the soul

Back on herself, and startles at 'Change Alley?

'Tis the mortgages that work upon us;

'Tis Peel himself that points out an hereafter,

And intimates cash-payments to the Landlord.

Cash-payment-Bill! Then teasing, dreadful

Act!

Through what variety of untried schemes,

Through what new scenes and changes meet

you pass! (sw)

The wild, th' outrageous humbug, lies before

But puzzles, tricks, and blarney, rest upon it.

Here will I hold. If there are public thieves,

(And that there are the nation cries aloud

In all petitions) they still must dread the gal-

lows;

And that which they delight in must be wicked.

But when! or where!—We're doom'd to toil

for jobbers.

I'm weary of conjectures—this must end, (sw)

(Laying his hand on Peel's Bill)

Thou art I dolefully bothered, my death shall kill;
 My bane and antidote are both before me:
 This is a moment tells me I am saved;
 But the instant turns me to its ally eye!
 The land secured in its existence smiles
 At Paper-hydra, and defies its venom.
 Rag-fairs shall fade away, the Bank itself
 Grow sick of duns, and Bank-notes sink in
 muck,
 But thou shalt flourish in immortal youth,
 Unhurt amidst the war of theories,
 The wrinkles of bankers, and the crush of
 brokers!

STATE OF FRANCE

FROM THE STATESMAN, 14 AUG.

THAT which most nearly concerns *ourselves* is the thing first to be looked to. We are satisfied, that, at no distant day, the *state of France* will very closely concern us. The KING, at every opening and every close of session after session tells us, that he "continues to receive assurances of the *friendly disposition of foreign powers*," and that this is a subject of *satisfaction* with him. This is something *new* in our history of King's speeches. It argues *uncommon anxiety* for the preservation of peace. It argues an opinion in the Ministers, that the very *sound of war* would be dangerous to their places, if not to the whole system. It argues their thorough conviction, that the nation is wholly unable to enter on another war without imminent danger of a general internal convulsion.

Yet, this is not a very wise way of proceeding. The more strong their conviction of truths so fearful as those, the more carefully ought they to keep it to themselves. Sad, indeed, has been the disappointment of the *Aristocracy and Church* (which is, in fact, one body), who thought that the wings of France were clipped for ever; or, at least,

for a century or two; who hoped, that the Bourbons would put an end to the very sound of *freedom*; and who confidently expected, that the *fight* between them and the people of France would make the Government powerless and the people miserable.

These kind and amiable anticipations have been wholly disappointed. The Bourbons have struggled, and do struggle, to get things back, towards the old order of things, as far as possible. But, they do not succeed to any great extent. The House of Lords do not possess much power. They do not put the Members into the other House. The People put them there; and, though the elections be not quite free and fair, and though the suffrage be much too limited; still the elections are not a mere sham; a mere insult to the people; a mere mockery of them. Some men, at any rate, are sent into the House by the hearty good wishes of the public-spirited part of the people; and, a few men of this description are sufficient to prevent enormous plunder of the people; because these men must be heard; and the press has the liberty to circulate their speeches. In short, the House is not a vile band, packed by the Aristocracy; and, left hand as well as right hand, having one common interest in passing laws to pillage the people.

Hence those *vigilant agitators*, which we see in the French House of Commons, and which our hired press call *indecorous* and represent as indications of approaching revolution. The fact is, the Members are in earnest; they are not opposed to each other in *show only*; the Minister has no honey-pot wherewith to convert the wasps into drones. It is not an assembly of hawlers, put into their seats by a band of wrangling Oligarchs, who are divided into two parties, and who fight for the plunder committed on the people; but who

have no ground for quarrel on any other score; and who all unite like brothers when the people are to be plundered or scourged.

The *Aristocracy* now existing in France has in it nothing of the *hateful* character of the thing. It is a parcel of men with *titles*; but that is all. They have not the revenues of a *Church* to divide amongst their relations and dependents. They do not, by one means and another, suck up a good fourth part of the fruit of the labour of the people. They have houses in the country, and some of them bits of parks; but, they do not hold whole districts in slavery. They have, of course, some influence in their several neighbourhoods; but, they have not corrupt things called corporations at their nod; they are not the owners of towns and boroughs, which they traffic in as in stalls, at a fair. If they behave well they are respected; but, if ill, no man is afraid to speak freely his opinion of them. No man is afraid to censure their conduct; much less is any man afraid of being hunted from the face of the earth if he speak truth of a villain in this state of life.

Before the *French* revolution, that event which has produced so much good to that fine country, the Nobles and the Church swallowed up almost the whole of the estates. That event divided the land into comparatively small parcels. It took the estate of one of the nobles, or churches, and divided it into perhaps, a hundred parts; so that, instead of a big, insolent Seigneur, or Bishop, with a hundred farms, it placed a hundred men with a farm each as his property.—The consequences of this has been, first, greater produce from the soil; second, an end to the old pauperism and beggary; third, a vast increase in the comfort and happiness of the middle class of people; and, fourth, an end to the cruelty, hypocrisy, and cringing and flattering,

insupportable from a different state of things.

But, of all the changes that have taken place, the change most advantageous to formerly enslaved France, is the change with regard to the Church. In France there are no tithes. The Revolution swept them away by the very first swing of its tail. There are priests to be sure; but, they are paid by small stipends, and these principally from voluntary contributions. A French Bishop does not get above 500*l.* to 800*l.* a year; not so much as many a clerk in some taxing offices! The French Clergy have no tithes; have no power to hector over the farmers; no means of domineering; no means of tormenting, scourging and ruining and bringing to beggary or suicide those whose souls they pretend to have under their care. The French Clergy are appointed, or chosen by those amongst whom they perform their religious duties; consequently they are not taken for the sake of aggrandizing the families to which they belong. They are not likely to be the brothers, uncles, sons, nephews, bastards, parasites, pimps, or something even worse, of those who have the power to force them upon the parishes. And, as the religion is the Catholic, these priests cannot marry; and, therefore, the parishes are not cursed with any insolence from their wives, while the nation is not burdened by endless broods of born gentlemen and ladies without money or estates; and whilst no priest can obtain a parish by marrying a cast-off mistress of any one. The French Priests are a set of humble men, as, indeed, they ought to be. They have nothing to carry them about but their legs. Of course they are no fox-hunters, or shooters, or preservers of gibber (game,) and, are, therefore, little known, but in their capacity of teachers of religion. The French Priests cannot be *Jacques de Pair*;

that is to say, Justices of the Peace, any more than they can be play-actors or mountebanks. So that they really have no temporal power; and, though they may have a distant political influence, the French people would as little expect to see one of them bustling about and bullying and threatening at an election as they would expect to see the Virgin Mary keeping a brothel.

This change in the affairs of the Church is a very great blessing to France. The parish priest is there, now, a friend and neighbour; and not a grasping, grinding, haughty and insolent master, who seems to think that all flesh, but his own, is grass, and who is never contented as long as there is any thing that he can squeeze from land or tree or beast or fish or fowl.

Accordingly agriculture now flourishes in France beyond, far beyond, all former example. The exact Mr. JACOBS, who gave evidence before the Agricultural Committee, last year, whose evidence was quoted with so much triumph by Lord LIVERPOOL, and who really seems to have travelled about the Continent for proofs, that other nations were as much in distress as we; the exact Mr. JACOBS says nothing about distress in France, in revolutionized, titheless, and almost bishopless France; though he says so much about the distress in Poland, Prussia, Hanover, and in the "Orange Boven" countries. Oh, no! There is no "agricultural distress" in France; though we did think we had made her miserable for centuries!

The fact is, that the *Seigneurs* and the *tithes* being gone, the people enjoy the fruit of their own labour. There is little danger of distress from the lowering of the price of corn, when *rents* are so rare and when there are no *tithes*. Besides, the taxes are next to nothing in France. France has no debt worth speaking of; and her

currency has always been (since the day of *assignats*) real gold and silver, no base paper-money; no dirty rags, handed from man to man, dishonour that country. All is solid. No laws shifting value of money up and down. The currency is always the same, and men can tell to-day, what it will be in ten years' time.

There being scarcely any debt, the revenue, light as the taxes are, surpasses the expenditure; not in name; not in a nicknaming and shuffling about the several parts of it; but in reality; so that the Government can, and does, prepare for war slowly and soberly and solidly. The arsenals, fortified towns, and dock-yards never were in so fine a state in France as they are now. Great encouragement has been given to manufactures, which have advanced quite as fast as they ought to do for the good of the country. The country is prodigiously increasing in wealth and resources of all sorts, greatly assisted in this respect by the immense sums, the fruit of English labour, carried across the channel, and spent in France, in consequence of the absence there of that taxation, which takes a clip off from every shilling here. It is computed, that two millions a-year, at least, are carried from this country to be spent in that. That is to say, the whole of the fruit of the labour of about 70,000 labourers' families, consisting of 350,000 persons. This is the way that one nation becomes strong and another feeble; this is the way that one nation profits at the expense of another.

No wonder, that we hear of no complaints on the part of the *landlords* and the *farmers* in France. The Minister in that country does not complain of *over-production*, nor do we hear of want of any kind, much less of *starvation*. If we were to hear of such a thing; nay, if we were to hear of one single

parish complaining of dear bread, should we not be told to take warning, for that this arose out of the revolution? What, then, should we be told, if, in the French House of Commons, it were declared that whole parishes had received the extreme unction on account of want of food? We should certainly be told, that this was a relic of the Revolution!

The happy state of things in France, and particularly the great prosperity and ease of the farming and labouring classes, enable the Government, as was observed before, to make gradual preparations for war; and, the treaty of commerce lately formed with America shows that that object is never lost sight of. We believe, that there is a secret article relating to the right of search. We have been told so: we deem our authority good: and we believe the fact. We desire our readers to bear this in mind. The treaty of commerce is, however, a pretty close thing of itself. It amounts to something little short of a maritime alliance offensive and defensive: let our pretty Gentlemen think of it what they may. They, we dare say, pretty Gentlemen, can see nothing at all in it worth their notice. The nation (or we are much deceived) will find it worth its notice, in a very short time.

France has a Censorship as to the press; but, this is of a limited nature; and, we have no scruple to say, that as towards the people in general, the press is more free, or, which is the proper definition, more true, there, than it is here. There the difference is direct and open: here it is indirect and secret. There the press is, in certain cases, compelled to hold its tongue: here, it may lie as much as it pleases in favour of the great and against the little, and must not speak truth with impunity, if it meddle with wealth or power. The French is, unquestionably, the honestest press

of the two; and we believe it to be impossible to silence it to the extent that ours has been silenced in the case of the *Bishop and the Soldier*.

The Royal people of France, though too full, perhaps, of the stupid old notions about blood and the like, are, at any rate, of good moral character, and are not expensive; while, as to sinecures and pensions, there are, except merely to old soldiers, hardly any of the latter, and no such a thing known as a sinecure! It is a fact extremely curious, that our "dead charge," as the Ministers call it; that is to say, the pensions and allowances for services in the last war, amount annually to nearly as much as is required to support the whole of the present French army of two hundred thousand men! This, together with the six hundred millions of debt which the war costs, really seems to have answered no other purposes than those of making France happy in peace, and more formidable than ever in war; and, finally to sink England beneath her great and traditionary rival.

France lost no character with the battle of Waterloo. It was then a divided nation. It was notorious to all the world that bribes flew till they dimmed the air. The whole Continent; every bayonet in it, was, by our money, brought to bear against her. It was not nation against nation; but all but one against that one. Can we do such a thing as this again? Can we give the Cossacks sovereignty? Can we again subsidize all, from Moscow to the Rhine? Faith, it is over. We can never play France that trick again; and her people as well as her statesmen know it well. They see with delight the Waterloo and 'Change Alley Debts hanging about our necks. They hear the cries of the landlords and farmers; they watch the small note bill; they see the wavering about in

our measures; and it would be to be sottish indeed not to be convinced, that they will not only assume a tone, but take steps, accordingly.

We have had a little *foretaste* in the total disregard, on the part of France, of our remonstrances on the subject of the *Slave Trade*. This is a curious thing, and wants a little explanation. At the peace of *Chantilly* (we think it was) when our great political philosopher sent NAPOLEON to *Elba*, the King of France was not induced to stipulate positively to put an end to the *Slave Trade* in the French Islands, which our philanthropists and our colonial proprietors were so anxious to see accomplished. When NAPOLEON came back from *Elba*, thinking that this was one way of out-doing the Bourbons, he abolished the *Slave Trade*. But, he had to go to *Waterloo* and face our last immense bale of Bank-notes! When, therefore, the King came to Paris again, and when the *Old Blucher* work and museum and picture and statue work was going on, the King was told by our great philosopher, that he could now have no *hesitation* to abolish the *Slave Trade*, at once, and unconditionally, seeing that the "*Usurper*" had done it to his hand. To such an argument and such large armies of all nations, in and about his capital, there was no answer; and the King of France agreed to the measure, "so highly interesting to humanity," and by no means less interesting to our colonial proprietors, who, having a pretty middling stock of blacks themselves, naturally wished to keep the planters of other nations from getting any, seeing that the more sugar was raised the less profitable the raising of sugar would be! Agreeably to this humane stipulation the parties went on for some time; but it has long been notorious, that the French have stocked, and are stocking, their

Islands with negroes from Africa; and that they, with their usual politeness, answer our great Statesman's remonstrances, with "*Oui, oui, Monseigneur: vous avez raison*;" but, that they keep on the *Slave Trade* as regularly as they do from *Baltimore*; and, more regularly they certainly need not.

This is a *foretaste*. They turn a deaf ear. They shuffle us off. They laugh, in short, at negotiators that come with a *Debt* of eight hundred millions and a "*Dead Charge*" of five millions a-year hanging about their necks. They laugh at a negotiator without a forty-pounder at his back; and they well know, that we can never again fire off a forty-pounder without shaking the whole fabric of the THING to pieces.

The Bourbons must know well, that to mortify England, to shew hostility towards her, to injure and humble her as soon as they can, and, as soon as may be, to shew a disposition this way, is the surest possible mode of gaining the hearts of the French people. Stupid *hommes de lettres*, as the coxcombs call themselves, may say what they please about *mob*; but, it was clearly rooted dislike of the English that produced the pelting off of licensed vagrants that went to Paris to pick up some of the sovereigns that had been carried thither. What did the people there care about the plays that were acted? What did they care about *Shakespeare* or *Sheridan*? They disliked the thing because it was English; because English plays put them in mind of what English Bank-Notes had done. This was the ground-work of that clamour and pelting which drove the licensed vagrants off; and highly honourable the feeling was to the French people.

It is to be mad to suppose that the Bourbons do not see this feeling in the people, and to be worse than mad to suppose that they will

not yield to it, for their own safety as well as from motives of ambition. We look upon all the measures of the Bourbons to be taken with a view to our utter inability again to go to war. They will, every day, see fresh proofs of this inability. The constant prayer must be, that we shall adhere to the *will-stones*; and they see that we must adhere to them until we have a *Reform of the Parliament*, which they will, and, perhaps rightly, conclude that we never shall have as long as the system can, by the means of any sacrifices, be held together.

Such is our view of the *State of France*, considered relatively to England. As to the vehement debates in the French House of Commons, we, taking into view the character of the people, regard them merely as proofs that the parties are in earnest. The Bourbons are sure to please the people, if they gratify them in their passion for *glory*, and particularly in their hatred of the *Bank Note nation*; the nation who got to Paris by dint of paper-money. The conclusion we should draw is this; that no time should be lost on the part of England to free herself from *tithes* or *debts*; but, as this does not seem likely to be the conclusion to which our Collective Wisdom will come, we must wait patiently for the operation of time and events.

To give the Reader information with respect to the nature of a Work which has already been advertised, and which will be published within a Fortnight or Three Weeks, I cannot do better than insert the Title and Preface, which will be seen below. The appear-

ance of the Work will be precisely that of a Volume of the Register.

COBBETT'S COLLECTIVE COMMENTARIES:

Or,

Remarks on the Proceedings in the Collective Wisdom of the Nation, during the Session which began on the 5th of February and ended on the 6th of August, in the 3rd year of the Reign of King George the Fourth, and in the year of our Lord 1822; being the Third Session of the First Parliament of that King.

To which are subjoined,

A Complete List of the Acts passed during the Session, with Elucidations; and other Notices and Matters; forming, all together, a short but clear History of the Collective Wisdom for the year.

"In the Multitude of Counsellors there is wisdom."
Proverbs, Ch. 24, V. 6.

PREFACE.

THE Commentaries contained in this volume, were, in general, made and published *daily* in the *Statesman* newspaper. But, as I did not begin with that paper, until the end of February, a short account of the proceedings up to that time is now given, in order

that the volume may not be defective. The *dates* are those of the paper in which the Commentaries appeared, and not of the *debates themselves*. However, the very day of the debate is usually mentioned also; so that there can hardly be any mistake in this respect.

The List of the Acts and the other matter subjoined will, I am persuaded, be found to be of the greatest utility. The great fault of *Parliamentary Debates*, as they are usually published, is their *immense bulk*. The *heavy cost* is something; but, it is nothing compared with the *unwieldiness* of that mass of confusion contained in two or three large volumes of what are called *Parliamentary Debates*; which, by the by, are frequently debates, or, at least, speeches, that have *never been uttered* in Parliament, but things written out by the *orators* themselves and got in the Debate-Volumes by force of *money*; so that the richer the more eloquent the orator. This is a curious way of obtaining renown. It is, indeed, a mere matter of traffick: so much

speech for so much money. Hence comes the curious fact, that those who make the shortest speeches in the House, or *none at all* in some cases, make the longest in the Debate-Volumes. However, we are arrived at a state of things, in which very few persons are to be duped by such means. And, in short, scarcely any body but the *orators by purchase* either buy or ever look at the cumbersome loads of trash, called *Parliamentary Debates*, which, in a few years, grow into such a heap, that the very thought of referring to them is enough to drive a man mad.

This Volume is not, at any rate, calculated to frighten by its *looks*; and, while its outside is not forbidding, its inside does really contain the pith of every discussion of any importance; and it presents a brief and impartial history of the Session. It is my intention to continue the work yearly, and at a very trifling expense, it will, I am persuaded, be found to be a very useful book.

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

Vol. 43.—No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1822. [Price 6d.

Published every Saturday Morning, at Six o'Clock.

MR. FAWKES.

*On the Meeting, lately held
at York.*

THE steps which you have taken, in order to secure the great County of York in the cause of Parliamentary Reform, merit the thanks of the whole country. That the Public may, as far as I have the means of conveying information to it, be duly apprized of your intentions, I shall here first insert the *Resolutions*, agreed to by the Meeting at York, on the 22d instant, of which Meeting you were Chairman; and then, with great submission, offer you such observations as the case appears to me to call for.

"At a Meeting, held at ETRIDGE'S HOTEL, YORK, this day, Thursday the 22d. of August, 1822, (WALTER FAWKES, Esq. in the Chair,) it was unanimously Resolved;—

1st. That it is the opinion of this Meeting, that a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament,—such a Reform as would render it the real, rather than a virtual, Representation of the People,—is become a measure of urgent necessity.

2nd. That this Meeting collects the truth of this fact from the recorded history of the House itself, where it is found, that every successive Administration, of whatever party, can, with a few solitary exceptions, of which the interested spirit has been too manifest, at all times command a majority.

3d. And this Meeting is willing to believe that the numerous body of Placemen and Pensioners, which a Committee of the Commons' House of Parliament has lately reported to exist in its body, has

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greatly tended to produce this spirit of dependance on the one hand, and of unbounded power on the other.

4th. Further, that the return of Members to the Commons' House of Parliament, (as appears from numerous statements made in the House itself,) being effected through the influence of Peers of the Realm, as well as of the Lords of the Treasury, is another cause why the votes of the House so implicitly follow the dictates of successive Administrations, and frequently with the sacrifice of the best interests of the Country. Convinced of this great truth, this Meeting thinks it right to watch the opportunity for adopting the steps necessary to rouse this great County to those exertions, which may be wanted to effect such a Reform as shall restore our Representation to a state of Constitutional Purity, calculated at once to protect the Rights of the People and of the Throne.

5th. Further, that to bring about this great object, it is the opinion of this Meeting a Committee be immediately appointed, with power to add to their numbers, who shall meet on the first Monday in November, at Mr. Etridge's Hotel, in York, there to organize a County Meeting, or to adopt such measures as they may conceive requisite, to promote a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament.

6th. That the following Gentlemen shall form a Committee accordingly—Five of them to constitute a Quorum:—

Walter Fawkes, Esq.
 Robert Chaloner, Esq. M. P.
 Sir George Cayley, Bart.
 Marmaduke Wyvill, Esq. M. P.
 Daniel Sykes, Esq. M. P.
 Colonel Cradock, M. P.
 G. W. Wentworth, Esq.
 F. Cholmeley, Esq.
 Sir W. Amcotts Ingilby, Bart.
 General Wharton.
 Rookes Crompton, Esq.
 Hon. Edward Peire.
 Martin Stapylton, Esq.
 Christopher Wilson, Esq.
 Colonel Cooke
 Geo. Baker, Esq.
 John Wharton, Esq. M. P.
 John Lee, Esq.
 Gilbert Crompton, Esq.
 T. W. Tottie, Esq.
 John Rawson, Esq.
 D. Gaskill, Esq.
 Geo. Francis Barlow, Esq.
 Benjamin Dealtry, Esq.
 John Egremont, Esq.
 T. Meynell, Esq.
 S. Scroope, Esq.
 J. Hurton, Esq. of Marske.
 Sir H. Vavasour, Bart.
 Lord Milton, M. P.
 John Haigh, Esq. of Crow Nest.
 Thomas Duncombe, Esq.
 Henry Witham, Esq.
 George Strickland, Esq.
 John Ramsden, Esq. M. P.
 Hon. T. Dundas, M. P.
 Henry Yeoman, Esq.
 R. W. Peirse, Esq.
 Godfrey Higgins, Esq.

WALTER FAWKES,

Chairman."

I have read with great attention, and with not less pleasure, your excellent speech upon this occasion, which, however, was no more than what every one expected from you. I shall not here enter into a discussion of what has so often been discussed, namely, the *justice* and *necessity* of Reform upon the grounds of *right*; but shall merely point out, though I have so frequently done it before, the necessity of it in order to prevent the *total subversion of all property*.

There can be no doubt, in the mind of any man who has read my Ten Letters to Landlords and my Letters (of a previous date) to Mr. Hayes and Mr. Attwood, that the labouring classes were pulled down, that they were degraded, beggared, pauperized, and rendered mean and dastardly spirited, by the co-operation of the systems of taxing and of paper-money; and that whatever they retained of spirit and of moral rectitude they owed entirely to the

habits of their forefathers having still some little influence on them. In what a degree they have been injured and debased by this system of taxing and funding, we well know by this one short sentence of Mr. ELLMAN, in his evidence given before the Agricultural Committee of 1821: "When I began business as a farmer, *forty-five years ago*, there was not a labouring man in the parish who *did not brew his own beer*, and enjoy it by his own fire-side. Now, there is not one of them that does it." This fact alone is sufficient to show us the degree, in which the people have been pulled down; for, of all the things that can be thought of, nothing can be so true a standard as this.

Now, Sir, from this same evidence of this very intelligent and respectable farmer (a great *Tory*, as they call it, too) let us see the cause of this.

Years.	Price of Wheat per bushel.		Daily Wages.		Reaping per Acre.		Mowing per Acre.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
1788 } 1789 } 1790 }	4	3½	1	6	9	0	2	6
From 1791 to 1819 inclusive. }	9	6	2	0½	12	7	3	3½

The price of *wheat* I take (before 1791) from the *returns* laid before the House of Commons ; and (after 1791 inclusive) from Mr. *George's* evidence, given before the Committee.

Can any one, upon merely looking at this, wonder at the ruin, the degradation of the great body of the people (for such the labouring classes are), and at the mass of misery that we have beheld for the last thirty years ? The daily wages ought, you see, Sir, to have been, from 1791 to 1819, about 3*s.* 5*d.* instead of 2*s.* 0½*d.* The reaping ought to have been, at least, 20*s.* instead of 12*s.* 7*d.* The mowing nearly 6*s.* instead of 3*s.* 3½*d.* Can any man wonder at the ruin and misery of the people ; at their *fall* ; at all the

loss of character amongst them ; at the dreadful increase of pauperism and of crimes ? Mr. Ellman's account of wages goes back no further than 1788 ; but that is quite enough for the purpose ; for, before that time, things had, for many years, been at about the same mark.

But, now comes one of the *great consequences*: the *poor-rates*. These (a year's rates), in Mr. Ellman's parish amounted, in 1791, to 96*l.* And, at the close of the thirty years (1820), the year's amount was 420*l.* ! See the mighty mischiefs of the infernal system of taxation, funding and paper-money ! Well, but some thoughtless man may say, if the labourers did not get wages sufficient in the *shape* of wages, they got the defi-

ciency in the *shape of poor-rates*. Oh, no! For, suppose the parish to contain a *hundred labourers*, allowing two labouring women, or boys, to go for a man; suppose all the work to have been done *by the day*; suppose there to have been no harvest-work; nothing but the bare daily work all the year round: suppose all this, here, you see, Sir, the men lost, during the 30 (or 29) years, 15*l.* 13*s.* a-year each; which amounts to 1565*l.* a-year; while the poor-rates, even at the *end* of the pillaging period, amounted to only 304*l.* more than at the beginning of it! Thus the labourers of this parish were, even giving, in the calculation, all these advantages to their oppressors, robbed of 1261*l.* a-year. And, if we were to reckon the wages of harvest and hay-time, and were to notice the *average* increase of the poor-rates, we shall find, that these 100 labourers were robbed, during the 29 years, of, at least, 2000*l.* a-year!

Are we to wonder, then, at the

increase of misery and of crimes?

Oh, no! the deficiency of wages has not been "*made up*" out of the poor-rates. The poor-rates, as they are called, have been perverted from their intention and have been made the means of *keeping down the wages*; and of giving to the labourer the smallest possible portion of sustenance.

But, and this brings me to the subject more immediately before us; where has been *the cause* of all this? The cause, and the only real cause of the whole, is to be found in *the want of a House of Commons chosen by the people at large*. A House of Commons, so chosen, never could have suffered the *millions* to be oppressed in this cruel manner. The more immediate causes, that is to say, the machinery of the system, have all been the natural consequences of this one great and all-pervading cause. Long and expensive wars; loans and debts; enormous taxation; paper-money; the drawing of wealth into large heaps: all these have proceeded

from a want of the people being duly represented; for, it is not to be believed, that if the people had had the choosing of the members, those members would have permitted the people to be sacrificed in the manner so clearly shown in the foregoing paragraphs.

If a House of Commons, chosen by the people at large, had entered, through error, on such a cruel system, would they have persevered in it? Could they have been permitted to persevere in it? Has any experience, have any proofs, produced the smallest disposition in the present House to change this fatal, this horrible, system? We will suppose, for argument's sake, that the error was not to be seen until 1821, would not a House of Commons, chosen by the people, have begun to think rightly, and to act rightly, when they had before them evidence like that, which I have cited above, and which was contained in the Appendix to a Report of one of their own Committees? Would that Committee, if it had

been appointed by such a House of Commons, have made a Report, in which this most important evidence was not even alluded to; but, in which, on the contrary, was to be found not a single passage calculated to lead to any beneficial result, or to convey any one useful truth to the minds of those to whom it was submitted?

Instead of being enlightened by this evidence; (instead of seeing (that which was now demonstrated by figures), that the evils of the country were ascribable solely to taxation and paper-money, the House acted as if these had had nothing at all to do with the matter; for a return of prosperity to landlords and farmers they relied on the visionary hopes of the "powers of capital;" while the increase of the poor-rates, that "heavy charge upon the land," as they called it, they ascribed to the "idleness, drunkenness, and profligacy," of the labourers, and actually listened to a project from Lawyer Scarlett to put an end to these by refusing

all relief to persons, or children of persons, *who should marry* after a certain day! Not the smallest attention did they pay to the evidence of Mr. Estlin, which ought to have been the very basis of all their proceedings on the subject. Could this have been, Sir? Could we have witnessed this, if that House had been chosen by the people at large?

I am not talking here of compassionate feelings towards the labouring classes. I am not expecting in every man that sort of enthusiasm in the cause of the labourer, which has ever been a habit of my mind, arising from the great delight I have always taken in all the acts and scenes of rural labour. I am speaking of what *dry policy*, what the mere *safety of the country*, pointed out. And, was it not evident, that that safety demanded resolute and immediate measures of *change of system*? Was it not clear, that this misery of the millions was, at bottom, the sole cause of the ne-

cessity of an army costing *two millions a-year*? Was it not clear how the people had been *despoiled by the system*? Was it not clear, that confusion must come, or the system be wholly changed?

Hitherto, Sir, I have viewed the system as the *robber of the labouring classes*. It has now, in consequence of the *Cash-measures*, reached the landlords, farmers and others. The manner in which it has reached these classes is now pretty well understood. But, the "*working of events*" and the final consequences have yet to be witnessed. The landlord goes to the farmer for rent. There is none for him, unless the farmer (cash-payments continuing) can do one of two things; namely, cause the *sixty millions* of taxes to be reduced to about *twenty*; or, *withhold wages* almost altogether from the labourer. As to the taxes, the farmer has no power at all; but, with regard to *wages*, he will try his hand. Hence will come, unless there be *what Re-*

form alone can accomplish, a dreadful struggle between the millions and their employers; between the few who cannot live without the many and the many who cannot very well live in peace and good order without the few. This is, after all, the most important point that we can look at. Let it be borne in mind, that the people of *England* will not lie down to receive the extreme unction. Let no tyrannical mind nurse itself in the idea that *they will ever do this*. They know, that that God who forbade to muzzle the ox while treading out the corn, did not create them to starve amidst plenty; and starve they will not.

The country is all in a *ferment*, a slow and still ferment, at this very moment, with the thoughts of this *approaching struggle*. The farmer, pressed by the landlord, and left bare by the tax-gatherer, is *threatening* to bring down the wages to the *price of corn*. But *how*? He takes the *late prices* and *late wages* as the

standard; and as, says he, wheat at 10s. a bushel having given day-wages of 2s. wheat at 4s. a bushel ought to make day-wages 9½d. He does not go to the *old standard*, given by Mr. ELLMAN, of wheat at 4s. 3d. and day-wages at 1s. 6d. And he does not think fit to remember, besides, the *additional tax* (since 1790) on *salt* (not yet taken off), on *leather*, on *soap*, on *candles*, on *malt*, on *tobacco*, on *sugar*, and on many other things. But, if he forgets them, the labourer *feels* them.

Here are elements of strife! This is the struggle; the struggle of the *landlord* (through his agent the farmer) against the labourer. The struggle of the thousands against the millions, in which struggle, if it be pushed on to extremities (though victory may appear frequently to change sides) the millions must, in the end, prevail.

And, what is to prevent this struggle from being pushed on to extremities? What is to prevent those heart-burnings, those vin-

dictive feelings, that vengeful spirit, and those desperate deeds, which must be inseparable from the existence of a struggle, where the dread of insolvency wages war against the pinchings of hunger? Where, on one side, the menaces of the sheriff's officer urges on the hand of oppression; and, where, on the other, a deep sense of unmerited wrong and a recklessness of consequences put in motion the steel or the torch? What is to prevent this struggle from being pushed to these dreadful extremities? That *Reform*, for which you now call; that, and nothing else that human wit can devise!

Already have many persons, who occupy their own lands, "*laid them down*," as they call it, to pasture; that is to say, in most cases, to thistles, docks, and other weeds. In some cases, the lands have been actually *thrown up* to common; the gates taken off, and the occupancy abandoned. It is natural for men to do this, who find tillage a *loss* and proprietor-

ship and occupation a *burden*. But, we must never lose sight of this *truth*: that the *millions will have food*. No matter *how*, or *whence*; but the thing is so: the *millions will have food*. And, if things were pushed to that length, the land must be allotted and appropriated for that purpose by law; or society must be dissolved.

And, is it really to be dissolved, rather than that a *reform of the Parliament* shall take place? Of all the strange things that men behold, surely the strangest is, that the owners of land should "*lay it down*," or "*throw it up*," to avoid the burdens that are imposed on it for the purposes of *labour*, without which it is of no value; and that they should seem to think nothing of those burdens which the *debt*, the *army*, and the *place-people* impose upon it! These, indeed, are the *only* burdens; for, the labourer communicates, poor-rates included, far greater benefit to the land than he receives from it. Aye; but

it is a work of less hazard to mulct, or to rail at, the helpless labourer, than to refuse to comply with the demands of the tax-gatherer, or to question the justice of a Government which has the better part of a hundred thousand soldiers at its back at a time when the King tells us, twice in every year, that he "*continues to receive the strongest assurances of friendship from all foreign powers.*"

These demands of the tax-gatherer must be complied with as long as they are made; and made they must be, unless there be a reduction, *and a large reduction too of the interest of the Debt.* Unless this be made, the army must be kept up, and all the enormous expenses must go on. And, as long as this is the case, (cash-payments continuing) *rents cannot be paid; for, in whatever way the abovementioned struggle may be conducted, it must terminate in favour of the millions; for, and let this always be borne in mind, they will have*

food: they will not lie down and receive the extreme unction.

To reduce the interest of the Debt: I mean, to do it *peaceably*; that is to say, without one of those convulsions which are called *revolutions*, is, in my opinion, impossible. It would shake the whole fabric of the Government to its centre. It would require, in order to do it peaceably, *the hearty concurrence of the people at large.* The Debt has been contracted by the present sort of Parliament, which I need not particularly describe. For that *same Parliament* to reduce it by force of law would be such a thing as cannot be thought of without making one's blood boil. But, if there were a Parliament; chosen in a manner that should give the whole nation satisfaction; the thing would be done for the *benefit of the whole*, and would be accompanied with those collateral measures, which would remove all well-grounded charge of injustice; but which measures never will, and never can, come

from the Parliament as at present constituted.

This opinion is now very general; and, it is, therefore, possible, that those who now fill the seats may resort, once more, to the issue of paper-money. You are well aware, as, indeed every body is, of the heinous injustice of such a measure. You are well aware of the unavoidable end of it; namely, complete confusion and revolution. But, *postponement!* It might, (for I am not sure that it would), secure a *respite* for the borough-mongers. And, so inveterate do I regard their hatred of reform to be, that I never expect them to refuse their good wishes or any thing, be it what it may, that they can do, to retard the hour of our deliverance, even though it were but for one single month.

To this narrow point, however, we are now come: the *Parliament must be reformed*; or, the *present race of landlords must lose their estates*; for, the repeal of Mr. Peel's Bill, though followed by paper as abundant as ever, could

only lead to a complete *revolution*.

All the hopes of "*rallying*" prices, so "*fondly*" held out in the Report of 1821, have now vanished for ever. The silly doctrine of over-production is completely exploded. All the dogmatical absurdities of Mr. Ricardo are laughed at. One stare of astonishment is seen on every face, the owner of which looks to *rents* as his means of living. Landlords are turning out of their mansions to make room for Jews, Jobbers, and Nabobs; and, while, in every other part of the kingdom, there seems, in the midst of such abundance as was scarcely ever before known, to be a struggle to get at the bare necessities of life, box after box, row after row, town after town, are rising up in the all-devouring metropolis, the grand resort of those who live on those taxes which press the rest of the nation to the earth.

And, will all the rest of the landlords tamely bend their necks to the boroughmongers until their all be gone? This question will

not now take long in the deciding. Much will depend on what shall be done by the great county that you are so landably putting in motion. There are circumstances that might induce one to hope, that *reform* would still be accomplished in a *peaceable* manner. The late occurrence at *North Cray* will not be without its effect. I do not mean as to *weakening*, as it is called, the *ministry*; for, it would be hard indeed if they were at a loss to find another assemblage of impudence and ignorance; but, it will make many men think for themselves that never thought for themselves before. It will, before Parliament meet again, have made many a man resolve not to be driven to desperation by loss of his estate, if, by any exertion of his own, he can avoid it. It will give a *shock* to the way of thinking of many, who have, all their lives long, relied for safety on this set of frothy and impudent pretenders to political knowledge.

The total want of *talent*, in those, to whom the affairs of the

nation have been committed, has long been becoming evident, and now it is evident to all. This evil, like all the rest, arises from the same accursed root. The *Boroughs* must be satisfied: their maw, insatiable as it is, must be crammed. If we were in a state to trace the several blunders that have been committed in the various departments; if we could trace all these backward to their source, we should find that source to be the *boroughs*. When the Treasury is full; when there is a mill at work to make money, then, all wears the face of success. Then any set of fools can carry on a Government, as any fool with an exhaustless purse, can carry on a farm. But, when the means are limited; when the nation or the farm must depend upon its own natural, unforced, steady means, it requires care and skill and industry to make it a thriving concern.

The men at present in power, and, indeed, those who compose the Parliament, have never, until now, thought that there was any

limit beyond which they could not go, in the way of expense. They have never thought of such a thing as the nation being brought to a state, in which the right of the landlord to get *rent* would have to contend against the right of the labourer to get *bread*. They were told by me, many years ago, that the landlords would lose *their estates*; but, they paid no more attention to it than to the noise made by the coaches going along the street. So that, not only the Ministry, but the Parliament, are taken by surprise, and appear to know not what to do any more than so many sucking babies.

But, is it for the people, the really enlightened people, of this country to stand by, to look on, and see the work of destruction proceed? Shall they, because an impudent, an ignorant, an insolent, over-crammed tax-eater calls their proceedings *a farce*, be afraid, or ashamed, to make an effort to rescue themselves from the present disgrace and danger? Let us hope, that they are not, in

this way, to be bullied into torpidity; and that they will now bestir themselves from one end of the kingdom to the other, being, as they must now be, thoroughly convinced, that by this, and by this only, can the country be saved from a convulsive revolution.

You have, I see, abstained from stating the *precise nature of the Reform* to be applied for, at the same time that we clearly understand, that you mean a *breaking up of the boroughs*. This is, perhaps, the best way; for, it is useless for us again to enter into particulars, until we know whether our opponents will agree to *any reform at all*. If they allow, that a reform of *some sort* is necessary, then we will discuss with them the question *what that sort ought to be*; and, if they deny that any reform at all is necessary, it will be useless for us again to propose particulars whereon for them to exercise their powers of misrepresentation. I believe, that no reform will be *efficient*, unless the

myself as accidental, with the excep-
tions made by Major Cart-
wright; but, it certainly will be
prudent to leave particulars to be
discussed, when the necessity of a
reform shall have been acknow-
ledged. If this be not acknow-
ledged by those who have the
power in their hands, let the thing
go on; let Debt and Army and
Waterloo Charge and Civil List
and all continue; and let the at
once haughty and cowardly land-
lords of England take the conse-
quences: let them, in the beggary
that awaits them, take the appro-
priate reward of their stupid pride
and long-continued injustice.

With great respect, I am, Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

I shall, in my next, insert
 Mr. Fawkes's Speech, which I
 omit now only on account of want
 of room.—When I wrote the fol-
 lowing Letter to *Daniel Stewart*,
 he had not published the name of
 the "*wretch at Petersfield*," who

had offered the ringers a *seve-*
reign to ring the bells upon the
arrival of the news of Castle-
reagh's having cut his throat.
 Daniel has now named *Mr. Hector*
 of that town. I beg Mr. Hector
 to accept of my compliments,
 and to consider my pen as now
 conveying to him a *heartly shake*
by the hand—To the honour of
 the village of *Hambledon* and that
 of *Cosham* (both in Hampshire),
 the people *rang the bells*, on the
 arrival of the news. The same
 honour is due to *Laxfield* in
 Suffolk, where, it is said, the bells
 rang for the greater part of the
 day. I have no doubt of the
 same having been done in scores,
 if not hundreds, of places. And,
 observe, this was done in *obscure*
villages; by country people!
 How, then, must this man have
 been *thought of* by the people of
 England! How *well* they must
 have known his *character* and his
deeds! Foolish the people of
 England very often are in bestow-
 ing unmerited praise and marks
 of respect; but, when they cen-
 sure or hate, they are always
just.

CASTLEREAGH'S BURIAL.

*To Daniel Stewart, one of the
Proprietors of the Courier
Newspaper.*

[From the Statesman, Aug. 27.]

Derking, Surrey, Aug. 25, 1832.

DANIEL STEWART,

You, who were once what they call a *Tailor's Trotter*; you, who came up from Scotland not over-wardrobed; you, who published the *Eclair*, and whose fame is recorded in the Term Reports; you, who have abused, libelled, and calumniated the people of England more than any other man that I know of; you began your political career by appearing as clerk and runner to a Society, called the *Society of Friends of the People*, the professed object of which Society was, to obtain a *Reform of the Parliament*. When you began to publish your newspaper you were openly a *Jacobin*,

gave a French name (*Courier*) to your paper; was a most boisterous advocate of the French Revolution; defended all, even the worst acts of the revolutionists; and did every thing that in your power lay to assist their cause. After this you changed to the other side, and, after the manner of apostates, became a persecutor of those who retained the principles that you had professed. From that day to this you have been a libeller of the people of England, and have, like all others who have done the same things, grown rich; till at last you have (last Spring) stood in the nomination list for *High Sheriffs*, under the name, denomination, and title of *Daniel Stewart, Esquire*, of — Park, in the County of Oxford."

I have forgotten the name of the "Park," and you were not appointed Sheriff, though your name stood first upon the list. It would be the most glorious thing to see you in your bag-wig taking the Judges into Oxford in your

coverings, exhibited by javelin-men wearing your livery, and proceeded by stamp-presses blotting the blast-officers; and this I am convinced we should have seen, if I, great sinner as I was, had not opened upon the subject too soon, and enjoyed the sport by anticipation. My mouth so watered, that I would not let the fruit get ripe. To see Mr. Baron this and Mr. Justice that dipping in the same dish with Daniel Stewart, Esquire, of Courser-Park, would have been one of the feasts of this age of political festivity. It would have spoken, as to the character of the THING more forcibly than a thousand volumes of my writing.

One MURFORD, who was, I hear, a commissary, or something of that sort, stood, at the Stamp-office last year, (and, I suppose, does now) as your partner in the libellous paper called the *Courier*. But, that you are the person responsible to the public and to me is evident enough. You falsely and basely told the people of England, during my absence in

America, that I had there been tried for libelling the American Government! To this infamous lie you added another, that I had been fined for the offence seven thousand dollars. These falsehoods were afterwards printed on placards, and were posted up all over London, and about the city of Coventry, and in a great many other parts of England, at an expense probably not less than five hundred pounds! Whence came the money? Did you pay it out of your own pocket? Will any body believe this? You are a pretty fellow to talk of the sin of libelling. I had a wife and children (daughters too) then in England, to endure all this at your hands. They well knew the charge to be wholly false; they well knew that there was not the smallest truth in any part of your story; but, they also knew, that they had no power to rebut your infamous lies; the base press they found closed against them; and, as to THE LAW, what law was there for them! They were com-

called to hear your infamous lies in silence; but, of course, in the hope of seeing the day when justice would be obtainable.

But this is only a specimen of your libels on me, and your endeavours to destroy me. Yet what are your attacks directed against me, compared with the attacks which you have directed against the people of England? You have been a greater calumniator of that people than any other man, WALTER and CASTLEREACH not excepted. You have for years and years, been incessantly abusing them in the foulest manner. You have discovered towards them, not only a want of feeling, but a degree of ferociousness seldom witnessed even amongst the cruelest of mankind. You have eulogised every act that has tended to injure, degrade and insult them. You have treated them as *beasts*, and you now abuse them, you now revile and almost curse them, because they are not beasts enough to be insensible to ill-treatment; because they rejoice that CAS-

TLEREAUGH has fallen by his own hands.

One would have thought, that the coaxing which you possess would have induced you to be silent upon such a subject; but, in this as in many other cases, your malignity has got the better of your craftiness.—You, at first, said not a word about the triumphant shouts at Westminster Abbey. You were, at first, as silent on this subject, as you have been, from first to last, on that of the "*Bishop and the Soldier*." But, your prostituted columns were forced into the service at last; and out came that villanous attack on the people of England, which I am now about to repel.

I shall, according to my inviolable custom, publish the thing that I am about to answer. None but real rogues garble that which they censure. My readers shall see what you say as well as what I say. I am for no *smothering* even of what my adversary has to say. You, or your employers have overshot the mark here. For

you have, in the Article I am about to quote from your paper of the 21st instant, challenged us to the discussion. Without something in the way of provocation, it might have been difficult to bring forward the deeds of CASTLEREAGH, just at this time, in a suitable manner; but you, in loading the people with abuse because they expressed joy at his end, have opened the whole subject, and invited us to do precisely that which truth and public good would, sooner or later, have called for. Like those poisonous vermin that seem to shallow observers to be nothing but mischievous in the creation, you have, in this case, in despite of your nature, done that which will be productive of good. The following is the article to which I allude.

A disgraceful circumstance occurred yesterday, which evinced the brutifying effect produced upon the rabble, by the writings of men who are themselves a dishonour to their country. We are credibly informed, that when the funeral procession of the late Marquis of Londonderry reached the Abbey

door, and just as the coffin was being removed from the bier, some wretches who were standing round, uttered a shout of exultation! It is needless to add, that this savage exhibition was indignantly reprobated by the great body of persons who had assembled to witness the sad and mournful ceremony. To say that we are shocked and disgusted that such a fiend-like spirit should exist in any human bosom, would be but feebly expressing what we really feel; yet we should seek in vain for any term that could adequately convey what must be, not our feelings alone, but those of every person not sunk below the level of humanity. At the same time we should grossly belie the most solemn constitution of our minds, if we were to say, that even this horrible occurrence has surprised us. The produce of the soil has corresponded with its culture.—During many years England has been cursed with a tribe of writers who have unceasingly laboured to corrupt the minds of the lower classes, in morals, in religion, and in politics. We do not now speak merely of that crew of sordid scribblers who, though apparently leagued together for one nefarious end, are, in reality, stimulated only by the necessity that they should eat, and are utterly reckless through what dirty and disgusting channels their offal-food is derived. Associated with these

unrestrained, more others, connected with the daily press, who never put their pens to paper, but to outrage the best feelings of our nature, to traduce the good, degrade the eminent, assail the unoffending, and menace the timid. Their labours are one continued warfare against the well-being of society. Religion is their scoff—its teachers and its establishments their ridicule or scorn; the Throne they openly attack; the laws, together with all who minister to their execution, Judges, Counsel, Jury, down to gaolers and executioners even, they revile, unless when some traitor escapes, or some blasphemous libeller baffles them: the Aristocracy and the Gentry—the Peer of Parliament and the Member of the House of Commons—the Private Gentleman and the Public Servant—are all comprehended in one general doom of contumely, bullying, slander and invective, save and except when any of them are imbecile or profligate enough to embrace the cause of these pests of society. Can we be so besotted as to suppose, that such combined and persevering efforts work no effect? If there be any such, let them explain how the worse than barbarian spectacle of yesterday came to pass? Let them explain, how it happened that Englishmen carried their enmities beyond the grave, and insulted the ashes of the dead? Could this un-

manly scene—this revolting brutality—have been exhibited except by wretches who had drunk deep of that polluted stream which is daily poured forth for them? We say—No. All the natural feelings of the human heart, incline it to tenderness and generosity when death has rendered powerless even a personal enemy; but here there was only the remembrance of political conduct to conciliate, and shall we be told that, this was sufficient to provoke a murmur of reproach over his coffin? When Fox died, and was publicly interred, thousands in this great metropolis saw him borne along in public pomp, to the sepulchre, who detested his principles while living: but, was there any insult offered to his ashes? No; for we had not then that pest among us with which we are now visited. The *Morning Chronicle*, which relates the shocking indignity with studied minuteness, has forborne, however, to accompany its account with one syllable of censure, with one expression of regret. Was it too well pleased with the fruits of its own toils, to affect even, for the sake of policy, an abhorrence for which the world would have given it some credit whatever might have been the opinion entertained of its sincerity? It may learn, from the conduct pursued by another Morning Paper, that there are modes by which decency of feeling can be accom-

angly preserved, even while rancorous hostility is in reality indulged: The lesson is worth studying, *for hypocrisy, though not a virtue, is at least a tribute of virtue, which is often preferable to the unblushing effrontery of vice.*

Before I come to the main matter; that is to say, the charge against the people of England; before I come to this, let me make a remark or two on some incidental points. And, first, Mr. High Sheriff that *were* to be and that I hope *are* to be, how came you to omit this "*disgraceful circumstance*" in your long and minute account of the funeral, which exhibited to the nation "*a multitude bathed in tears*?" How came you not to have noticed this circumstance then? A circumstance which you must have known of? If the shout were given only by "*some wretches*," and if it be "*needless* for you to add, "that the great *body* of persons "*assembled indignantly reprobated*" the shout, how came you so carefully to *suppress the fact*? It was really "*needless*" for you to

add this; for not a man, even amongst your own partly corrupt and partly besotted readers, will believe a word of the matter.

The fact is, that the shout was *unanimous* as far as the *people* were concerned. The *tax-eaters*, who had assembled to mourn, (as well they might) did not, of course, express feelings of joy; but, *the people*, those who feed them, did, and that, too, in a very unequivocal manner. The true history of the matter is this: there was a great multitude to accompany the hearse from St. James's Square. There was a very strong escort of *police-people*, *patrols* and *constables*, the high-constable being mounted *on horseback*, and marching at the head. It seems to have been doubted whether *troops* would not be necessary. Every *force* short of troops was prepared. It was clearly a step which was looked upon as *offensive to the public feeling*. In *Pall-Mall*, not 300 yards from the place of starting, a respecta-

the looking man pulled off his hat, and swinging it over his head, began to cheer; but, was instantly seized and dragged away! The hearse moved on to *Charing Cross*, where it was received by a pretty general *huzza*. Opposite the *Horse Guards* it got another *salute*: and, when the coffin was taken out and as it was carried into the Abbey, that same people whom Castlereagh, when living, had called "*the basest populace*," gave *three exulting cheers*, accompanied, or rather followed, by *execrations*; and these cheers and execrations were as general as any that ever were heard in London, or any where else.

These are the *facts*; and, now, let us hear what *you say* on these facts. You say, that the exultation was *disgraceful*; that the spectacle was a *barbarian one*; that it was carrying *enmity beyond the grave*; that this was *unmanly*; that it was *revolting brutality*. Now I am willing to allow, that if the case had been an *ordinary*

case, all this would have been true. You *emphatically* impute this conduct to *Englishmen*; meaning to say, that, of all people in the world, any thing like *ferociousness* was least to be expected from *them*, any thing like *unmanly* triumph, any thing like *falling on the fallen*. And, you ask, "*how it happened that Englishmen acted thus?*" This is the very question that I am going to answer; and my answer will, I think, be found well worthy the attention of those, of whom he, over whose coffin the shouts were given was the colleague, or the agent.

You ascribe these shouts and execrations to the *press*; to writings which have been and are put forth by "*a crew of sordid scribblers*," who write and publish merely that they "*may eat*." This is in your usual style of insolence. You, I suppose, in changing from *Jacobinism* to *Loyalty* had no "*sordid*" views; You have not written and published that you "*might eat*;" You, to be sure, must have written, published

and purchased the above-men-
tioned strenuous libel against me
without pay, or the hope of pay;
You, disinterested creature, have
got a park, carriages, horses, and
liberty servants, purely by dint of
industry and genius; YOUR BRO-
THER RICHARD (a newspaper man-
too) was, by this very CASTLE-
TON, made a Consul at Havre
de Grace, solely on account of
his rare merits and his knowledge
of mercantile and diplomatic af-
fairs; You, in short, have been
brought to the eve of being a
High Sheriff of the Parson-
County of Oxford, purely by the
disinterestedness, public spirit,
truth and justice of the conductor
of the immaculate, the doubly im-
maculate *Carrier*.

But, leaving comparisons of
this sort aside, do you not show
no overstock of wisdom in as-
cribing so much effect to the writ-
ings of these "*sordid scribblers*?"
There are about three hundred
newspapers, magazines, and re-
views, all as much in the service
that you are in as if they were

actually in regular pay. Nine-
teen twentieths, nay, forty-nine
fiftieths of the matter put into
print, is so put in favour of the
cause that you endeavour to up-
hold. Those who, in the manifold
ways, receive the sixty millions of
taxes a-year, employ a certain
portion of them in upholding these
forty-nine-fiftieths of the press.
How is it, then, good Mr. ECLAIR,
that all these forty-nine-fiftieths,
having the Parsons along with
them, have not the power to keep
the people from being so com-
pletely under the guidance of the
one-fiftieth that is in the hands of
the "*sordid scribblers*," the poor
creatures that write "*only that
they may eat!*" You assert too
much, Daniel; and thus you de-
feat yourself. You make us con-
clude, whether we will or not, that
these "*sordid scribblers*" have a
great deal of truth on their side;
or, that they are "*scribblers*" of
most astonishing powers; powers
little short of being supernatural.
However, you do the "*scrib-
blers*" too much honour, and

take it, in fact, from yourself and your friends and supporters, whose deeds it is that have produced the effects which you deplore. This is the way to "explain *how it happened* that *Englishmen* carried their enmity beyond the grave," and "insulted the ashes of the dead." This is not true; for they carried their enmity only to the grave; and the time for doing any thing to the *ashes* cannot yet possibly be come. But, supposing all you say to be true, I might, before going farther, ask you, whether the people of England have seen nothing in the way of *example* with regard to this *after-death enmity*. You think, of course, nothing of the atrocious calumnies that you and your brethren have uttered against the memory of our famous countryman, Mr. PAINE. But you will hardly deny, that, *less than six months ago*, this very CASTLE-REACH boasted, in open Parliament, of having been one of those who had "*chained the TYRANT to the rock*." You

will hardly deny that the *poor Queen's corpse* was intended to be *dragged up a bye lane, and through back and dirty streets*, in order to prevent its receiving the last marks of respect from that humane, kind-hearted, just and generous people, who had, on account of their fidelity towards her, been by this same Castle-Reach called the "*basest populace*." Napoleon was dead; the poor Queen was dead; but that did not stay the tongue or the hands of those whom you support, and whose acts you applaud. The *dead bodies* of the *few brave and deceived men*, whom Edwards and his abettors brought to the scaffold; even these *dead bodies* were refused to the humble petitions of the widows; a thing not done in the case of Russell, though, in his case, there was no Edwards or other person acting in a similar capacity.

Did you, Daniel, think much about this *forbearance towards the dead*, in the case of poor Brandoth, Turner and Ludman, or

did that horrid Boroughmonger think much about it who did all he could to ruin and destroy even their *relations*? Thus, you see, it is not very prudent in you, to challenge us to discussion, while we have *memory* to assist us. But, while these examples are by no means to be forgotten; and, while, when you complain of the *unmanliness* of triumphing by *shouts*, by mere words, over a *fallen* enemy, we are to bear in special recollection the case of the brave Marshal Ney. He had been an enemy, but an enemy in *open war*; an enemy in fair fight; he had *surrendered* on condition of being secured from harm. It was not his *dead* body that was shouted over; but his *live* body that was *killed*. If it were *unmanly* in the people to triumph over the fall of Castlereagh by *his own hands*, what are we to call your triumph and the triumph of your supporters and abettors over the fall of Ney?

However, we are yet short of our point; for, I allow that no

example of baseness or injustice is to be cited as a justification of the people of England, though it ought, in a case like this, to be borne in mind, and though it may, as it does, in this very case, form one of the reasons for that conduct, which, without good reasons for it, would be what you call it, "*disgraceful and barbarous*." How, then, to put your own question; "*how did it happen that Englishmen carried their enmity beyond the life of the party?*" They are the *most forgiving* race of mortals that ever existed. It is very true, as you say, that "All the natural feelings of the human heart incline it to tenderness and generosity when death has rendered an enemy *powerless*." To be sure death did not have this effect upon the heart of Castlereagh; for, Napoleon died of "*an hereditary cancer*" in 1821, and Castlereagh, in 1822, bragged, in Parliament, of having been one of those, who had "*chained the TYRANT to the rock*." To be sure, death did

not have this mollifying effect on the hearts of those who wished to see the lifeless corpse of the poor Queen dragged up Kensington Gravel Pits. But, agreed that death *ought*, in ordinary cases, to produce such effect: it *ought* to incline the human heart to tenderness and generosity. But, *there are cases*, where to be softened by the death of the party, and especially by death *proceeding from his own hands*, would argue that very want of feeling, which you would fix on the people of England; and, the whole question rests upon the fact, whether this was, or was not, one of those cases; a fact which it will not cost as much trouble or time to ascertain.

You say, that death ought to have this softening effect, "*even in the case of a personal enemy*;" but *here* there was only the remembrance of *political conduct*. Never was there a more unworthy sentiment than this. Just as if it would be excusable to feel that degree of resentment

towards the dead on private wrongs, which we ought not to feel on account of *wrongs done to our country*! A sentiment more base has seldom found its way into print; but a sentiment perfectly congenial to the soul of Daniel Stewart. That which rendered the conduct of the people, on this occasion, not *unmanly*, not *ungenerous*, not *ferocious*; that which took from it every bad quality, was precisely the absence of that very circumstance which you point out as a thing that would, in your mind, have made it less censurable. There was no "*personal*" feeling; it was a feeling of resentment on account of "*political conduct*;" that is to say, on account of the deeds done to the country, to the people at large, by the deceased; deeds, you will recollect (as the people well recollected) that have not ceased with their perpetrator: deeds, the effect of which are felt *after his death* as much as they were during his life; deeds which have wholly changed the con-

dian, and, if suffered long to
perched, must as completely
change the character of the peo-
ple of this country, so free and
so happy before the days of Pitt
and his followers, amongst whom
Castlereagh was certainly the
most persevering and unrelent-
ing.

"Here there was only the re-
membrance of *political contact*."

ONLY! There are volumes in
that only. And then you, with all
the simplicity of an idiot, ask:

"Shall we be told, that this was
"sufficient to provoke a *murmur*
"of *reproach* over his coffin?"

No: you shall not be told that:
but you shall be told, that it might
be sufficient to provoke, and did
provoke, an *anawingus shout of*
triumph, followed by the *bitterest*
exclamations. You answer your

own idiot-like question by observ-
ing, "When Mr. Fox died, and
"was publicly interred, thousands
"in this great metropolis saw him
"borne along in public pomp to
"the sepulchre, who *detested his*
"principles while living; but,

"was there any insult offered to
"his ashes?"

Daniel, thou too art mad. "Who
are you," says Lear to Edgar:
"what made you mad?" The
other answers, "I am a *Tattler*-
run mad with *pride*;" so that,
laced liveries and a "purk" with
deer in it and being down for *High*
Storiff of Oxfordshire may well
have had a similar effect on a
Tailor's Trotter. But, be the
cause what it may, mad you must
be; or, you never could have put
upon paper a passage, calculated,
above any other thing that could
have been thought of, to call forth
that which would exalt the people
whom it was your object to de-
grade, and, at the same time, to
exhibit in all his most odious co-
lours the man whom it was your
anxious desire to white-wash.

No, Daniel Stewart, at necessity
and malignant Daniel, the people
of England did not *set up shouts*
of joy over the coffin of Mr. Fox;
nor was it thought necessary to
have an army of *constables* and
police-officers to conduct his corpse

to Westminster Abbey. — His corpse did not enter the doors of that ancient pile, long dedicated to the receiving of the remains of men held in honour by the people; his corpse did not enter those doors amidst the *exclamations* of the people; and yet, it was the same people who now saw the corpse of Castlereagh carried in, and who now saw the doors slammed together as soon as it was got in. No, Daniel, the people did not show such feelings as at the death and burial of Mr. Fox; and ought not you to have left this fact to be pointed out by somebody else! Oh, no! You wanted this fact to show how the people have been changed by the writings of the "*sordid scribblers*." The people did not shout at the burial of Mr. Fox; "No; for we had not then the pest amongst us, with which we are now visited;" that is to say, the "*sordid scribblers*!" Alas! How is it that we have now this "*pest*?" How has it been produced? Not for lack of new laws; not for lack

of dangers; not for lack of *punishment provisions*; not for lack of any *severities* short of an actual Bourbon Censorship, and short of the punishment of death.

But, Daniel, the "*pest*," has nothing to do with the matter; or, if it have, it is only one of the effects of those very deaths, which naturally come before us, which actually rise up and demand to be recorded, when an explanation is called for why the same people shouted over the corpse of Castlereagh that had observed a mournful silence at the burial of Mr. Fox.

True, Daniel Stewart, the remains of Mr. Fox were borne along in public pomp (and without an army of *constables* and *police*, mind that!) And the people did neither shout nor excrete. It is not true, that even his principles were held in detestation; but, what of his death, Daniel, compared with those of Castlereagh? Many good, many wise men, lamented the connexion of Mr. Fox with the *Grenvilles*;

many good, and wise men, and the people at large, disapproved of some of the acts of the ministry of which Mr. Fox formed a part; but, every one knew, that *Mr. Fox* was, in his very nature, gentle and humane, and that he never either committed or winked at an act of *cruelty* in the whole course of his life. To say what Mr. Fox *did* is not so easy a matter; but, it is easy enough to give a list of a part, at least, of the things that he *did not do*; and, I imagine, that, long before you get to the end of that list, you will find more than answered that question which nothing short of idiot-like folly could have urged you to ask.

Mr. Fox was also Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; but, during his time England neither made, nor winked at, treaties the main tendency of which was to favour an alliance of powerful despots for the purpose of crushing for ever, if possible, and totally destroying every vestige of liberty on the continent of Europe.

Mr. Fox never seized Napoleon,

who had surrendered himself a prisoner of war, and conveyed him, for life, to a species of insular gaol; and, after he was dead, boasted of having been one amongst those, that had "chained the tyrant to the rock."

Mr. Fox, who also had the appointing of Consuls, did not appoint REYNOLDS a Consul; did not appoint PETER STEWART (your brother) Consul at Havre de Grace; GEORGE MANNERS of the "*Satyr*ist," Consul at Boston; and CHARLES KNATCHBULL Consul at Nantz.

Mr. Fox did not do any of those deeds in Ireland, described so ably by Mr. *Finnerty*; and for which description Mr. *Finnerty* was so severely punished.

Mr. Fox did not bring in any Bills, called Irish Insurrection Acts, by which the people of that country are shut up in their houses from sunset to sunrise; and which authorize the *transporting* of men *without trial by Jury*; and without any Judge presiding, ex-

cept mere Justices of the Peace aided by a Sergeant at Law.

Mr. Fox never was accused of selling a seat in Parliament to *Quintin Dick*; and when proof thereof was offered to be brought to the bar of the House, never went off triumphantly, in consequence of such proof being rejected on the ground that such practices were as "notorious as the sun at noonday;" and that, besides, the evidence ought not to be heard, because it was necessary "to make a stand against democratic encroachment."

Mr. Fox, during his administration, had not seen JOSEPH SWANN imprisoned four years and a half (having suffered long imprisonment for want of bail before trial) for selling pamphlets twice, and for being once at a Reform Meeting where he did not say a word: nor did Mr. Fox, while Minister, and while this poor labouring man was thus imprisoned, advise the letting out of Sir MENASSAH LOPEZ at the end of about one year, being about a third part of his imprison-

ment, the said Menassah having been convicted of the most atrocious bribery and corruption.

Mr. Fox did not, when a million and a half of men petitioned for a Reform of Parliament, bring in a Report on which was founded a law, authorizing the Ministers to imprison any men that they might regard as suspected, in any gaol that they pleased; to keep them there as long as they pleased, to prevent them from seeing any body that they pleased, and to deprive them of the use of pen, ink, and paper.

Mr. Fox never called the adopting such measures as this pursuing the "*stern path of duty*;" nor did he ever say that he was *sorry* that the Law Officers of the Crown could discover nothing to prosecute in such and such publications.

Mr. Fox never *congratulated* his hearers upon the circumstance of the funds having risen in consequence of the passing of a Power-of-Imprisonment Bill, and of a

Suspension of the Act of Habeas Corpus.

Mr. Fox never advised or defended the issuing of an edict like Sidmouth's Circular.

Mr. Fox never advised *thanks* to be given to the Magistrates and Yeomanry of Manchester, after a scene like that of the 16th of August 1819; nor did Parson Hay receive his rich preferment during the administration of Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox, during his administration, never witnessed an *Oldham Inquest*; and *no inquest ever sat on the body of Mr. Fox*.

Mr. Fox knew nothing of *Six Acts*, demanding bail from Printers before they begin to print; binding men to the peace and good behaviour for libel before conviction; making them liable to forfeited recognizances in spite of acquittal; banishing men for uttering any thing having a tendency to bring either House of Parliament into contempt; forbidding men to meet even to petition without special authority of Ma-

gistrates, making it transportation to resist in case of such meeting; making it death to resist any Magistrate or Officer in such resistance.

Mr. Fox, during his administration, did not see Mr. Bruce transported.

Mr. Fox never brought in a Bill, nor supported a Bill, for making it transportation to be seen in or near a cover in pursuit of game after dark; and making it death in a poacher to wound a gamekeeper in an affray under such circumstances.

Mr. Fox, when the nation was in distress, never talked of making the labourers dig holes one day and fill them up the next.

Mr. Fox never brought *Green Bags* down to the Parliament crammed with papers sent over by a Milan Commission. He never was a participator in a Bill of Pains and Penalties against a friendless Queen; and when a just, a humane, a generous people, boldly stepped forward to save her, Mr. Fox never called

that people "the basest populace."

Mr. Fox, when that unfortunate Lady had had her heart shivered to pieces, and become a corpse at his disposal, never directed that corpse to be dragged along Kensington Gravel Pits and round the dirty outskirts of the town.

Mr. Fox, as to *outward appearances*, was not remarkable for his religion. Castlereagh, you tell us was excessively pious. You say, in your paper of this very day, that he used to kneel down amongst the poorest of the poor at North Cray, and there regularly receive the Sacrament! Mr. Fox, most assuredly, never did this; and Mr. Fox never had any thing to do with OLIVER and EDWARDS.

Mr. Fox was, therefore, as you say, "borne along in public pomp to the sepulchre, and there was no insult offered to his ashes." Mr. Fox was hated by nobody;

loved by a great many: your hero has had his funeral oration pronounced; and you must be a dull beast indeed, if you cannot discover sufficient reason for the difference of conduct in the people upon the two occasions, without resorting to the miserable pretence that their minds have been perverted by "*sordid scribblers*."

We are told, that, at the grave, Lord Liverpool seemed deeply sunk in grief, wept much, and "*shook his head*." Well he might: it was a season for serious reflection. The sight before him, together with the shouts, that must be still ringing in his ears, were sufficient to make him reflect on what I have had the honour often to tell him; namely, that the *stern-path* is not the path that leads to peace, to happiness, and to honour.

WM. COBBETT.

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GOBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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TO

MR. CANNING.

On his Farewell-Meeting at
Liverpool, on the 30th of
August 1822.

"Nay, answer me not with a fool-
ish jest." HEN. IV.

Kensington, 4 Sept. 1822.

SIR,

You are about to be shipped off to a country of tax-collectors and slaves; to a country of Aumils, of Zemindars, and of Ryots; that is to say, of Farmers-General of taxes; of Under-renters of taxes; and of poor devils of Husbandmen, whose *very fields* are guarded by the bayonet, until all the crop has been taken away, except what is absolutely necessary to keep the labourers alive and in a condition to toil. A country, where the land is tilled by miserable beings, who are the *property* of others, who are themselves but slaves. Where the greater part

of the people are liable to be sold, mortgaged, or let to hire, precisely like the live-stock of a farm. But, in the whole of that country, extensive as are its limits and numerous as are its people, you will never see a crew of creatures half so base as those by whom you were, the other day, surrounded at Liverpool.

The Meeting was, it would appear, for the ostensible purpose of giving you a *farewell-treat*; you being, as it is said, and as you seem to confess, sentenced to go to Hindostan. The *pretence* was, that you were the *Representative* of the town; but the whole of the proceedings exhibit you in the light of a *Mountebank*, surrounded by a crowd of stupid admirers; though, in reality, they were a set of mean creatures, taking this opportunity of paving the way to their getting at a share in what they think you will have to bestow of the good things of India. It was quite in character for you to represent the "*address*" of these sycophants together with their

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five times nine cheers (similar to those given to *Parson Hay*) as natural effusions of their gratitude and affection. It was quite in character for you to affect to be melted, and to be thrown into a sort of blubbing hiccup by these, as you called them, "marks of kindness;" but, the public well know, that those cheers, being interpreted, were a *howl* after that prey, that spoil, by which the cheerers intend, through your means, to fatten themselves or their broods; while, on your part, the whole thing was manifestly intended as a break to your fall; as a means of getting you off the stage with a *clap*; aye, just such an one as is obtained at Covent Garden or Old Drury by *tickets given away* to the Cyprian Damsels and to the Knights of the Pad.

At this Meeting, as on the stage, a speech from the head operator always makes a part of the performance. With your speech, upon this occasion, it shall now be my business to deal; first, however, giving a list, as far as I find it published, of the mean and false creatures that addressed and cheered you. It is necessary to observe, that there was a *previous Meeting* on the 23d of August, at which you dined with those hacks who constitute what is called "the

Canning Club;" and this Meeting must not be passed over in silence. Here that prince of stupidity and servility, *John Gladstone*, appears to have been *Chairman*; and, to give the public the means of judging correctly of the character of this *more select crew*, it is only necessary to state, that one of the toasts from the Chair was, "*The Manchester Magistrates*." At this "*Canning Club*" Meeting there appears to have been a man of the name of *Gifford*, who sang a song, called "*Forget me not*." Was this that *William Gifford*, who, the son of a cobbler at Ashburton in Devonshire, and put to school out of charity by a parson of the name of Cookson, became in time, travelling tutor to Lord Belgrave (now Earl Grosvenor); who about 1798, became *Editor*, under you and others, of that most libellous of all publications, the *Anti-Jacobin Newspaper*; who, for this service, had in 1799, a sinecure given him of 329*l.* a-year, and was soon after made a *Commissioner of the Lottery besides*; who has thus been receiving, out of the taxes, about 600*l.* a-year, from that day to this, and who, of course, has received, in this way, of *principal money*, about 14,000*l.*? Was this that *Gifford*? And did he, by

the song, "*Forget me not*," want you to give him, or get him, some more *sinecures*? Or, was the song in *behalf of the whole crew*? This Gifford got a good horse-whipping from Peter Pindar, in 1800. Peter had, in a poem called "*A Cut at a Cobbler*," lashed the mercenary reptile. The latter, unable to answer, accused Pindar of *unnatural propensities*! This brought him, not a literary, but a *literal lashing*, to the great enjoyment of the whole town. This man is said to be the whipper-in of that last shift of tyranny, the *Quarterly Review*. He may be assured, that, if you should *forget him*, the public will not: they will not, when the day of settlement comes, forget his *sinecures* any more than they will *yours*.

At the Second Meeting, the grand mountebank exhibition, one J. B. Hollinshead is given as the *Chairman*. The following is given as the names of those who *addressed you*. It is, and especially may be, of great use to have these *names* ready to turn to. Every man of these must be taken to be an *abettor* of you and your associates, and as having done every thing in his power in the *cause of the Manchester Magistrates*. Here we have these men, then, from their own account of them-

selves:—George Irlam, Chair—Charles Lawrence, Deputy Chair, of the Association of West India Planters and Merchants.—Alexander M'Gregor, Chair—Wm. Rathbone, Deputy Chair, American Chamber of Commerce.—Thos. Case, Chair—Jos. Sanders, Deputy Chair, Underwriters' Association.—Rob. Gladstone, Chair—Thos. Leatham, Deputy Chair, Ship Owners' Association.—John Carter, Chair—Nicholas Robinson, Deputy Chair, Corn Exchange Association.—Thomas F. Dyson, Chair—Rich. Harrison, Deputy Chair, Portugal, Brazil, South American, and Mexican Association.—Rob. Benson, Chair—Jos. Hibberson, Deputy Chair, East India Association.—Francis Jordan, Chair—David Hodgson, Deputy Chair, Irish Association.—Rob. Gladstone, Chair—Thos. Moore, Deputy Chair, Baltic Association.

There let the vermin stand for the present, while I proceed to comment on your mountebank harangues. There are *two* of these also, the first being of as much importance, for my present purpose, as that delivered on the grand stage on the 30th. I shall consider the two as one, and shall take up, in the following order, the topics they present:—

1. *Catholic Emancipation*; 2. *Reform of Parliament*; 3. *Policy with regard to Foreign Nations*; 4. *Distress of the Country*; 5. *Your Approaching Exile*.

I could, in a very short compass, state, and fairly state, the meaning of all that you said on these several topics. And I am sure, too, that I should not be accused of foul play; of misrepresenting or of garbling. But I do not choose to put your mountebank harangues before the public in this way. I choose to take your words, as uttered, or rather, as written out, by you, and published by your creatures; because one part of my object is, to show that you are a poor trifling thing; that you may, perhaps, be fit for a Mountebank, Play-Actor, or something of that sort; but that you are wholly unfit to be entrusted with the management of any part of the nation's affairs. With this object in view I shall here insert your harangues, divided into parts corresponding with the afore-mentioned division; and shall, of course, begin with what you say with regard to *Catholic Emancipation*.

1. CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.—
“On the subject of Catholic Emancipation I am well aware; and in the first speech which I had the honour of addressing to you

“in Liverpool, I candidly declared that I had the misfortune of differing from those with whom I was in the habit of generally agreeing on political subjects; and I told my Constituents, that in accepting me as their Representative, they elected one who supported, and would not abate a single jot of his anxiety or exertions for the success of that question. — (*Cheers*.) — Accordingly I have taken every opportunity of most strenuously supporting the question of Catholic Emancipation in whatever modification it has been discussed. I dealt honourably with you on that occasion; and though I have rarely given an opinion which was not that of my Constituents also, I feel pleasure in knowing that upon that occasion I spoke the general sense of the country. I have not in any instance compromised your rights; I have gone forward in what I conceive to be the straight path of duty, and neither here nor elsewhere have I reason to repent of my perseverance. — (*Loud cheers*.) — Were I to remain in this country, and again represent you in the House of Commons, I should pursue the same course, no matter what uneasiness it might give me to differ in opinion from those friends whom I so highly respect. I, however, think, and as I shall not, perhaps, have an opportunity of stating it elsewhere, I am anxious to take this time to mention it, that after the struggle which has been made upon the question for the last ten years, I should, as an individual, be inclined to advise that it should be treated as a question of compromise, rather than one of an unqualified nature, as it has hitherto been argued. I feel as deeply and as anxiously now for the success of this question as I did at any former period of my life. But upon grounds of poli-

"tical expediency, and looking to the peace of the country, I confess I should be ready to accept what I think by a compromise might be obtained, adjourning, but never abandoning those points which I conceive to be at present matters of hopeless litigation. In the House of Commons I should perhaps have hesitated to express those opinions, because there is a salutary jealousy entertained by the public at any change of opinion by a public man; a jealousy which makes it safer to pursue what is hopeless, rather than seek to obtain what by a compromise might be had, and thereby subject one's conduct to public misconstruction. But I say it here, for here no suspicion of improper motives can attach to the declaration. I hinted at this in the course of recent debates. I was anxious to preserve the peace of the country; I wished that we should have breathing time; I wished to remove one great cause of discussion and complaint, reserving for a future period the introduction and accomplishment of that more complete arrangement; of which, I, for one, shall never forego the expectation."

This is as slippery and as mean and beggarly a piece of stuff as ever escaped the lips of place-hunter. What you thought was, that the people would not understand this; that neither those who were listening to you, nor those in general who would read what you were saying; you thought that these would not understand you; but that the *Lord Chancellor* would! He will understand you clearly enough; but he knows

well that you can bring to the Ministry nothing but *weakness*, of which it has quite enough already.

As to the question of Catholic Emancipation, it never has been a *question* with any of you: it has been a *stalking-horse*; a thing to intrigue with and about; but he must be a dreadful fool indeed, who thinks that the humouring of a score or two of Catholic families would have the smallest tendency towards making the Irish nation happy and contented. To make the Irish nation happy and contented, the millions must be well off; and will the humouring of a score or two of families with seats and offices make the Irish nation well off? But what would your scheme have effected? Would the enabling of about twenty Lords to sit in Parliament have done any thing for the people of Ireland? And how shall we describe the impudence or ignorance of a man, who could give to such a measure the name of Catholic Emancipation? Who would it have emancipated; who would it have set free?

Here is a country with a Catholic people and a Protestant hierarchy. The people are compelled to pay tithes to the priests of a religion that they detest. The bishoprics and the livings are

enormous sinécures, and the tithes are collected in that sort of way which makes them doubly odious and burdensome. Every farthing's worth of them is grudged to the receiver. There needs no other cause of discontent, sedition, rebellion, sunset and sunrise laws, enormous military expenditure, starvation amidst abundance, and all the evils that can afflict a country. And you, mighty politician, have, as a remedy for this unparalleled mass of evils, the passing of a law to enable a dozen or two of Catholic peers to sit in the House of Lords! *Betty Canning* of old, famed in ballad, could not have thought of any thing more absurd and contemptible; and the ground of astonishment is, that you can have lived in England to the year 1822, and not be ashamed to talk of such a thing as a remedy for any evil whatever; that you can see immense sums of money voted out of the taxes of England, to prevent the Irish people from starving in the midst of abundance; that you can see whole parishes of Catholics prepared for death by their priests, on account of want of food, while enormous quantities of food are daily shipped out of the country, and that you can talk of shipping a dozen or two of Ca-

tholic peers into the House of Lords, as a means of restoring peace and happiness to Ireland!

Emancipated, indeed, the Irish want to be, and ought to be; but it is from the *Protestant Hierarchy*; from tithes, from titheproctors, from spiritual Courts, and all the powers of a Church, that takes from the fruit of the land, not less than from two to three millions. This is the emancipation that the Irish want. In one word, they want to get rid of tithes; and the existence of the tithes, and that alone, it is that prevents all those emancipation things that you affect to be driving after. It is not the Pope; it is not Anti-Christ, as our Parsons call him; it is not the "And Whoore," as the Scotch Parsons call him; it is not images and wafers and saints in calendar; it is not any of these, that the opposers of your emancipations care about: it is the two millions a year of *Church property*, as they call it, that they have in their eye, and that a Reformed Parliament would so soon part with rights. This is what they care about; and this you must know, too, or you are blinder than any buzzard that ever run his head into the net of the fowler.

Your propositions about Ca-

tholic Emancipation, as you call it, show you, therefore, to be a driveller, or a man of very great insincerity. But, we have in this speech of yours, something a great deal more interesting than any of your Parliamentary propositions. We have you here making a confession of your *readiness to compromise!* Never was a more direct begging for place than this. You knew well that your conduct with regard to this Catholic Emancipation had *offended the most powerful persons in the Ministry.* You had not forgotten the open, the undisguised hostility of the Chancellor, and the famous good rap he gave you upon the knuckles. The truth is this: you were mortified: they were sending you away: you wished to remain: and, at any rate, you were determined to give them a slap at parting. Your motion was well calculated to embarrass them: it did embarrass them; and the Chancellor gave you a rap by way of punishment. NOW, owing to the adventure at North Cray, you hope to obtain a *respite.* You hope, in short, to be able to stay at home, and to have place, too. NOW, therefore, you "*confess,*" that you should be ready to *accept of a compromise!* But, let us have the

words, let us have the begging again: "I confess I should be ready to accept what I think by a *compromise* might be obtained, *adjourning,* but never abandoning those points which I conceive to be at present *matters of hopeless litigation.*"—And this, because you are "*anxious to preserve the peace of the country.*" Why did you not think of this, when you *divided the House,* during the last session? You did "*hint at it.*" When? How? Never that I perceived. No: and you now, from your mountebank stage, make the offer to the Ministers, if they will take you in; that is to say, if they will take you in, you will, not "*abandon,*" oh, no! but "*adjourn,*" Catholic Emancipation for ever; or, at least, to the day before the day of judgment!

And, yet, the fools that heard you were to entertain "*no suspicion of improper motives,*" because you did not make the offer of compromise *in Parliament!* Just as if the mountebank stage were not a fitter place for it! Just as if, too, there were *nothing in the time!* Just as if any man of common sense could fail to perceive, that this was an offer of *submission* made to the Ministers, in consequence of the exit of the

hero of North Cray! Once more, I tell you, the offer is in vain. It is not *weakness*; it is not *unpopularity*, that the Ministers want. They have enough of both; and must, therefore, be mad indeed, if they accept of you.

2. REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.—

You dwelt longer on this topic than on any of the others; and you seem to have mustered up for the occasion all the sophistry that you are master of. Not to fatigue the attention of the reader, I shall take this part of your speech a portion at a time.

Gentlemen, I now turn to the second question, that of Parliamentary Reform, with which, perhaps, more than any other my name has been connected: connected too in a way which has drawn upon me much popular observation, and often much popular obloquy. They much mistake me who suppose that I impute to the supporters of Reform a perfect knowledge of what the principles which they advocate would lead to. No! Gentlemen, it is with their doctrines I quarrel, and I now wish, as I have ever done, to discuss those doctrines *argumentatively*, and not vituperatively. I wish those persons who cry out for Reform, to state to me, to state to themselves, distinctly the objects they have in view, and their means of attaining those objects. Do they ground their necessity for Reform upon the fact of our having been engaged in expensive wars, our having been engaged in long and protracted struggles on the Continent? Do they advocate it on the ground of heavy taxation and

severe legislative enactments? Supposing these their grounds for Reform, and granting for argument sake that they are true, then, I ask, is it by the House of Commons alone that these acts have been sanctioned? Do they charge them as the acts of a single body? Has no sanction or confirmation been given by another Assembly to those enactments? If there be another Assembly co-operating with the House of Commons, then, I say, a Reform of the House of Commons is nugatory, without a co-ordinate Reform of that other body also? (cheers.) I put this plain question, and I have never yet met the man who would answer it *satisfactorily*. If you reform the House of Commons, pray what are your intentions with respect to the House of Lords? (applause.) If you wish a Reform on the ground of the House of Commons having sanctioned the war with America; if you wish for a Reform on the ground of the House of Commons having sanctioned the war with France, sinking for a moment the fact that war with America was the war of the people, sinking the fact that the war with France was the war of the nation. If you wish for Reform, because at a later period the House of Commons found it necessary to pass severe enactments for the repression of dangerous disturbances, then I ask, are the House of Lords, who were parties to these transactions, to go free? If not, then I ask, what is the remedy you propose? And, if you propose no remedy for the House of Lords, where is the benefit of reforming the House of Commons? Do you mean to prevail by reason or by compulsion? If by reason, then reason is as good out of doors as in. Is it by compulsion? Aye, that is what you mean, but what you do not dare to say (loud cheers). Why, then, my quarrel with Reformers is not as to the mode or the degree; I take an objection, *in limine*, that they ask that, instead

of a tripartite Government, there should be erected a *simple instrument* which would do its own work by sweeping off every obstacle and impediment which stood in its way. This is my objection to the proposed Reform. I do not object to it because Old Sarum returns one, or two, or twenty Members to Parliament. I don't object to it because it would prevent this or that Peer from exercising his influence in returning Members for Boroughs. For God's sake, if you can prove corruption in any Borough, disfranchise it as you have disfranchised Grampound. But if by the Representatives of the People you mean *the organ of the nation* (and much confusion has arisen from misunderstanding and confounding terms), then I ask, when the nation has *its organ*, *what room is there for any thing more?*

This is "discussing the question *argumentatively*" is it? This you call *argument*. It is, to be sure, less of the jack-pudding cast than that which I shall come to by-and-by; but what is there here more than a mere *disfiguring* of the question; a mere keeping of the real question out of sight? Our complaint is this: "The people are not *represented*: they have shown by their petitions, that the Aristocracy, and not the Commons, send a majority of the members to the Lower House." And, what is your *answer* to this complaint? We further complain, that this representation of the Aristocracy has produced a want of feeling for the

Commons, and has led to that taxation under which the country is suffering. This is the substance of our complaint: and, what is your *answer*? It is this; that it is not the House of Commons *alone* that makes the laws; but that and the House of Lords *conjointly*; and, therefore, a reform of the former can be of no use *without a reform of the latter*.

Here you think, that, having *Six Acts* before our eyes, you *pin us up*. Making sure that we *dare not answer*, you call on us to answer, as Southey and Gifford did on me as soon as the gagging and dungeoning bills were passed. Making sure, that we dare not say a word in answer, you go crowing on, that you put this "*plain question*" to us: "*What do you mean to do with the House of Lords?*" You have never yet, you say, *met with a man* to give you an answer to this question. You are particularly lucky just at your going off, then; for, now you have met *with the very man* that you have been so long looking for in vain; and this is the answer to your plain question: **WE MEAN TO REFORM THE HOUSE OF LORDS TOO.** There now! There is an answer for you, though you were so cock-sure, that no one *dared* give it you.

And, now, I will describe to you the *sort of Reform* that we would effect in the House of Lords. Mr. Grey, now Lord Grey, presented, in 1793, a petition, which stated that a majority of the members of the Lower House were returned to it by the Upper House, and by a few men closely connected with those of the Upper House. We would take away from the Upper House the power of doing this; and, as this is directly in the teeth of the "*law*," which you say is "*so binding*," we should call this *reform of the House of Lords* not only a legal, but a moral reform.

Aye, but you have a tickler in soak for us. We must change the way of acting in the Lords. That is we must prevail on the House of Lords to act differently from the manner in which they act now; or else we do nothing, they being a body without whom the other House can now do nothing. Then comes your tickler: "Do you mean to prevail by reason, or by compulsion? If by reason, then reason is as good out of doors as in. Is it by compulsion? Aye, that is what you mean, but what you dare not say."

Impudent mountebank! What do you mean by reason being as

good out of doors as it is in? Do you mean, that, unless the House of Lords be absolutely forced to act thus, or thus, by the House of Commons, the people may as well have no representatives at all? This, if any, must be your meaning; and, then, why is there a thing called a House of Commons? Yours is a very good argument for getting rid of a House of Commons altogether; but, good for nothing else.

The basis of your argument is this: that the House of Lords, when deprived of the power of returning a majority to the other House, would have a disposition, and would be constantly endeavouring, to do just the same as if it retained that power. You do not seem to perceive, that it is the possession of that power, which, and which alone, creates and sustains the disposition to do those things which we say ought not to be done. Take away that power, the disposition ceases; or, at least, if it exist in some degree in the breast, it is restrained from breaking out into flagrant acts; a restraint that you may call "*compulsion*;" and, so far are we from "*not daring*" to avow that we mean to prevail by this species of compulsion, that we look upon those as idiots that

expect to prevail in any other way.

What is *compulsion*, in this application of the word? Why, restraining men from doing certain things, or causing them to do certain other things, against what may *naturally enough be their inclination*. And, is not this necessary in all ranks and states of life? Are we not all under the constant *compulsions* of the law? Is not the King himself under *compulsion* as to his marrying, and as to many other things, with regard to which he naturally enough might wish to be free? What the devil, then, is this House of Lords, that it must experience compulsion of no sort whatever? What the devil is it, that we should "*not dare say*," that we would wish to see an efficient restraint, or check, upon its actions, which actions affect our very lives?

Yours appears to be a pretty idea of a "*tripartite*" Government. There is one body (out of the three), which, according to you, must have *no check upon it at all*; or must be *destroyed*. If the Commons have a House of *their own*, the Lords, according to you, *must be nothing*. The thing *must be one*, or nothing. This is your doctrine. Why, then are we put to the expense of what is called a *House of Commons*? How is it, that the *Senate*, in the American Congress, exists

along with a *House of Representatives*? These bodies frequently differ from each other; frequently *throw out each other's Bills*; are a *constant check* upon each other; act *compulsively* upon each other; and yet they not only co-exist, but proceed in the dispatch of business with the greatest regularity and dignity, and they manage the affairs of a country equalled by none in point of happiness and obedience to the laws. Will you say, that the *Senate is nothing*, because the Lower House is chosen *more frequently*, and *directly* by the *people at large*? Why not call *this* Lower House the "*organ* of the nation;" why not call it a "*simple instrument*;" why not say, that the nation, having *that*, can have *nothing more*? This is really a "*tripartite*" Government. Here are a President, a Senate, and a House of Representatives, all deriving their authority from different descriptions of suffrage; checking and acting *compulsively* towards each other occasionally; and yet all existing in the greatest harmony. But, if the Senate, who really represent the Aristocracy of America, put, of their own will, a majority into the Lower House, would it be then a "*tripartite*" Government? No: it would be an *Oligarchy*; an "*Organ*," a "*simple instrument*:" just that sort of thing that you appear to be so much afraid of! In England the Chief Magistrate and the Upper House are *hereditary* instead of being *elected by the Aristocracy*. That would be all the difference in the two cases if our *Commons*, or *People*, had the choosing of the House that is

called theirs. But you can see nothing but *open war* between the Houses, if one of them were chosen by the people! If the Commons' House WERE the Commons' House, you think that the "*tripartite Government*" must cease! Unless the Lords choose the Members of the other House, you can see no hope of preserving the Lords! In short, unless two of the parts be one, you can see no hope of preserving a *Three-part-Government*!

Why, you silly as well as impudent mountebank, had you the vanity to think, that no one would "*dare*" to answer you? Did you think, that your vapourings on the Liverpool stage too were protected by *Six-Acts*? Did you forget, that it was not yet *banishment* to laugh at what passed in that scene of unparalleled meanness, froth and impudence?

Having given you the "*answer*," you were so much in need of, I might, but I will not, pass over a falsehood, introduced into the above passage parenthetically. I allude to your assertion, that the people were for the old American War and for that against France. What ground have you for this assertion? The proof of the contrary is found in the innumerable *petitions against the American War*; and, as to the war against the people of France, Oh! impudent mountebank! Is not the lie given to you by the proclamations, the acts, the unparalleled severities, to keep the people from actually rising in open rebellion against the undertaking and the carrying on of that war! Was not the Habeas Corpus Act suspended for seven years during that war? But, is it not notorious,

say, is it not your *boast*, that the object of the war, and the sole object, at the outset, was to put down *French principles in England*? Is not this as well known, as it is that you were Ambassador in Portugal with a salary of fourteen thousand a-year out of our taxes? And who, then, but you would have had the brass to call that war a *war of the people*?

The next portion of your speech relates to the laudable efforts now making by Mr. FAWKES in Yorkshire.

"This question of Reform is pressed more immediately upon my attention, from the circumstance of a Gentleman in a neighbouring County—a Gentleman of fortune, of character, and of great talents, of whom I wish to speak with great respect, having thought proper recently to rake up the *dying embers* of this unhappy question; on which occasion he did me the honour to refer to some opinions delivered by me in another place. Mr. Fawkes, the gentleman to whom I allude; and whose name I mention with honour, thought proper to express his surprise that I, the representative of the opulent and commercial town of Liverpool, should express any anxiety about such close boroughs as Old Sarum. Perhaps I might in return express my surprise that Mr. Fawkes, who commenced his exertions for reform by clamouring about the inadequate representation of his own county of Yorkshire, should, now that the representation of that county had been doubled, discover that a reform was *more than ever necessary* to the welfare of the country (cheers). Had I a grievance to complain of, it would be that which has for such a length of time been dinned in my ears, I mean the complaints of the county of Yorksire, who, like Niobe and

her numerous offspring, wept her unhappy fate, and now that she had been gifted with two more helpmates, seeing her unhappy son coming forward to lament the violation of public liberty and the destitution of England (cheers). Surprise for surprise. But I shall turn the Gentleman's surprise to conviction. It is *just because* I am the representative of the second town in the kingdom, that I advocate the cases of smaller boroughs. I have no hesitation in declaring, that were I the representative of Old Sarum, I should have held my tongue; but it is because I could not be suspected of having a *shadow of interest in the question*, that I felt it my duty to say that which, if said by others, might be imputed to *questionable motives*. I did so, because I was anxious to expose the fallacy of those doctrines, which, while they pretended to remove the blots and scandals of the constitution, contained principles which would go to change the whole nature of the institution itself. Let any reformer show me that he is *only anxious to remove those blots which exist, and I am with him*; but the doctrine of reform goes further—it goes not to alter the mode, but the thing—it would have the effect of altering those institutions which combined *all the industry, all the property, and which opened a door to all the talent of the country* (cheers.) Let us beware, Gentlemen, of allowing the introduction of a system which would *act by power and not by reason*—which would govern by authority and not by that salutary conflict of opinions and of interests which at present exists—a system which to act at all must *act alone*. It is because I feel this that I find it necessary to oppose Reform."

"*Niobe*," indeed! you poor jester! Where has Mr. FAWKES said, that Reform is now "*more necessary than ever*" to York-

shire, or to any other part of the country? If you must *jest*, hatch the subject yourself, and do not father it on others. But, what a vapid coxcomb, to suppose, that we should look upon you as *really chosen by Liverpool*! "*No interest*," have you, in supporting *Old Sarum*! Just as if we did not know, that, if it were not for the power of the rotten Boroughs, *your face could never have been shown in Liverpool*! Just as if we did not know, that it was the expenditure caused by the rotten Boroughs, that gave you your seat. And, as, to your being anxious to *remove blots*, we know how sincere you must be, when we recollect, that, when evidence of Castlereagh's *actually selling a seat* was offered to be produced at the bar of the House, you voted against hearing that evidence, on the ground that "*a stand ought to be made against democratical encroachment*." To produce *proof of seat-selling* you called "*democratical encroachment*." You would not hear the tendered evidence; you called those who wished for inquiry "*a low degraded crew*;" and now you wish us to believe, that you are "*anxious to remove blots*!" Yes, after the manner of "*Gram-pound*;" that is to say, a mode of Reform, which would wheedle the nation along in its present state *for ever*; a mode which would, as you say, *not alter the thing*; a mode, which, under the name of Reform, would preserve the corruption unimpaired. The close of the passage last quoted treats us to a repetition of your assertion about the "*simple instrument*;" but, I have answered that before.

This is your favourite hit, and you return to it again when you come to speak of the *influence of the Crown*; but now you come to the new doctrine about the *power of the press*, which is worthy of particular notice, because it has lately been held forth, not only as something sufficient to weigh against all the influence of rotten Boroughs, but as something that renders it necessary to pass new laws, laying the most odious restraints upon the people.

Gentlemen, it has been said that the influence of the Crown operates so powerfully in the House of Commons that it perverts all its decisions. My first answer to that proposition is that which I have already given. *How rarely do we find the House of Lords differing from the House of Commons*, and what is the cause of this? Is it that the influence of the Crown operates on the House of Lords also? Take either alternative. If it is so, then I ask will you reform the House of Lords also? And what is the nature of the Reform which you propose? If it is not so, will you derange the whole machinery of the Constitution by placing the whole power at the disposal of a single body? But nothing can be more false than to suppose that the influence of the Crown has increased comparatively with the growth and strength of public opinion. That it has increased numerically in the House of Lords or House of Commons I deny. Any man who has watched the progress of the Constitution must have observed in the moral as in the physical world, great powers at work, which require the steady hand of authority to direct and control them. What, Gentlemen, would you say to that philosopher who, in sitting down to write on the theory of winds and tides, and to give a history of navigation, should omit to describe

that new and mighty power (new at least in its application) which walks upon the waters with a giant's strength; which approximates distant countries and creates near neighbourships; which gives to the fickleness of the winds, and the faithlessness of the waves, all the certainty and security of a journey by land [cheers]? Would you not set him down as an ignorant, unobservant, and idle spectator? a man whose mind was so cramped as not to perceive that the omission to notice the power of steam had routed all his calculations, and evinced his ignorance of that of which he professed to treat? So would it be of an historian who, in attempting to describe the British Constitution, were to say that the Crown had a veto which it seldom exercised; that the House of Commons had the power of withholding supplies which it never enforced, but who omitted to notice *that mighty power of public opinion which was guided and directed by the public press*. Such an historian would only prove his own confined knowledge, and his utter incompetency for the task he had undertaken. I say, Gentlemen, that in all countries, in order to keep that standing which it is fit should stand, care must be taken not to admit any partial breach on the foolish faith that nothing which has not been calculated upon will enter. Another test which I apply to all speculative schemes of state policy, is, to inquire how they will operate for the benefit of the community in which we live? In private life I always look with jealousy and caution to that diffused generosity which, neglecting its domestic circle, pretends to act for the general benefit of mankind. In looking around me I find Great Britain a monarchy, founded on establishments which bind and control it; but still essentially a monarchy, which I, as a loyal subject, am bound to support. I do

not think it fit to enter the lists in order to show why it is, or why it should be a monarchy. I do not feel bound to show, *a priori*, why the Government of England is a monarchy, any more than I am to show why England itself is an island. Sufficient for me that I find it so—that it has from generation to generation been commented upon, but not altered; that I now find it existing, and that I owe allegiance to the *Constitution under which I was born* [cheers]. I know how stale this doctrine will appear to those who wish to inquire, not what ought to be done under existing circumstances, but what they would do were every thing to begin again. I wish not to become a philosopher from the beginning of the world by being a bad subject in the age in which I live [cheers]. I say that a popular assembly, according to the reforming principle, would laugh at Monarchical Government, and would be essentially a republic. I shall not now inquire whether a republican form of government would be better than the present. I feel myself bound by the laws—

"Spartan nactus es hanc exortia."

Improve the Constitution as much as you can, but when an attempt is made to renew it, *I feel myself bounded by the law*, and I agree with the law in preference to the theory [cheers]. I remember a story told of a certain King of Bohemia, who was most anxious to become a great naval power, but unfortunately for his ambition, a great obstacle presented itself, which was, that he had not a seaport in his dominions [cheers and laughter]. I feel myself in the same situation with his Majesty of Bohemia: when a republican assembly is spoken of, *I find I am not free to choose*, for I have a monarchy and an aristocracy in my eye (cheers).

Let the King of Bohemia pass

from your stage into Joe Miller without interruption. Let the happy agreement between the Lords and their relations and friends pass along with his inland Majesty; and let your being "*bounded by the ancient law*," while you were helping to pass *Six Acts*, go in company with them. But, as to the *press*, this famous thing that is to compensate us for the loss of suffrage and for all other losses and wants connected with our political rights, I must say a word. "The mighty power of public opinion, guided and directed by the *public press*." This is, it seems, our protection against all that the King and the Parliament can do! You seem to think, that we do not happen to know, that about seventeen twentieths of this press is in the actual pay, or under the influence, of those who possess the Boroughs; that the press is their abject slave; that it is a mere tool in their hands; that you yourself had the principal management of the Anti-Jacobin, which was set up with public money; that the SUN and TRUE BRITON were set up in the same manner, and that the latter paper was, in 1800, *offered to me* by an under Secretary of State. You seem to think, that the public do not happen to know any thing about Gifford, Southey, Stoddart, Walter, Stewart, Heriot, the Quarterly Review, the Gentleman's Magazine, the Tract Societies, the "Christian Knowledge" Societies, and all the swarm of writing reptiles and of publications in the service of the possessors of Boroughs.

But, if the "*public press*" be our *all*, what are we to think of the laws passed to crush it? And,

What are we to think of you, who, during the jocund season of *Six Acts*, defended every harsh proposition, and expressed your hope of seeing "*that accursed torch of discord extinguished for ever*," meaning *the almost only publication*, which was calculated to open the eyes of the people to the true state of their affairs? If the "*public press*" be such a great thing for us, look at the *forty-two acts*, which have been passed, within these thirty years, for the purpose of cramping it, and making it the slave of power. Look at *Sidmouth's Circular*; look at the Act that compels the printer to give *bail even before he begins to print*; look at the act which loads this very Register with *paper and price*; and look at that other act, which exposes to *banishment for life* any one who may utter any thing having a *tendency* to bring into *contempt* the passers of these acts! Impudent as we all know you to be, we could scarcely, without these things before our eyes, have believed you impudent enough to assert that we stood in no need of Reform *because the press was become so free*. Corruption, in all her works, has been no where so successful as with the *press*. This has been the most powerful of all her means, except those *tranchant means* that I need not minutely describe. Had it not been for that corrupt press, of which the *Anti-Jacobin* newspaper formed a part, never could this kingdom have been in its present state. It is this very press that has brought us to behold miseries such as no nation on earth ever beheld before; and of which miseries you, in conclusion of the reform-part

of your speech, talk, wretched jester, in the following style:—

Even within the limits of our own time, it is singular to observe the various modes in which Reform has been advocated. Six years ago great and oppressive calamities befel the country. The *price of corn became high*, and food became so dear that it was unattainable by the lowest classes of society. What was the *remedy* proposed then? *Parliamentary Reform*. Parliamentary Reform was pointed out to the suffering people *as a remedy for every grievance*. They were told that the great landholders had passed the Corn Bill, and that the only remedy left was to *put down those tyrannical landholders*, which could be effected only by Parliamentary Reform. Well, the times are come round, the *markets are glutted*, the people are feeding in comfort and affluence; we see the happy effects of this in the *steady employment of labour* at something of a reduced rate of wages certainly, but still more than sufficient to procure the necessities of life; we see it in the *reduction of poor's rates*, and in the *diminution of crime*. It would be rather hard, if those who, seven years ago, thought the country ruined, and declared the Parliament good for nought for having *passed the Corn Bill*, who saw the increase of crime consequent upon the *scarcity*; it would be rather hard, I say, if they did not sympathise in that prosperity which had grown out of the reverse of what they had complained of. (Laughter). Well, *low prices came*, and landlords became distressed, and what was then the remedy? *Parliamentary Reform again* (laughter); so that by a Parliamentary Reform they were to *restore the good old times of 1817*, which times a Parliamentary Reform had been called for to *remedy*. (Laughter). I do not wish to under-rate either evil; God forbid I should. In both there is much which I la-

ment and could wish to cure, but as to a Reform in Parliament *curing both*, I leave to the judgment of any man who has seen it prescribed as a specific for *such opposite evils*. Reform is prescribed as a *panacea for every thing*. I remember having a short time since somewhere read of an artist who had attained considerable eminence in painting, but who for some unaccountable reason confined himself to one branch of his art, that of painting a red lion. (Laughter). He was employed by the landlord of a public-house, for whom he painted a red lion, in such excellent style, as considerably raised his professional reputation, and he was in consequence sent for by a gentleman, who showed him a large pannel in his parlour, upon which he wished to have some painting executed. The artist, after grave consideration, recommended that the vacant pannel should be filled up with a large red lion (laughter), and a large red lion was accordingly painted. In a short time after, he was called upon by a neighbour in more humble circumstances, who had a small pannel in which he wished to have painted a landscape, or some pretty trifle in water colours. The painter opposed this plan, and warmly urged that, in order to produce a pleasing effect, the pannel should have depicted on it a small red lion. (Cheers and laughter). This is the case with the advocates of Reform, in whatever direction you meet them, and the most you can get from the most moderate of them is, that they will introduce only the *small red lion*. (Laughter). Gentlemen, I wish these things were only entertaining; but there is mischief in them, and the country must be on its guard; for, believe me, if the small red lion once gets in, he will only be a precursor to the whole menagerie (cheers), and we shall have not only to turn him out as he came in, but as he will have

grown when pampered and fed in his cage. (Laughter).

Laughter: Yes, and the reptiles would have laughed, if you, as Casca says of Cæsar, had "cut their mothers' throats." But, who besides these mean and greedy hounds would have "cheered" a scurvy jest like this, when they saw hundreds of thousands of people *actually starving*, in the midst of plenty, only on the other side of the narrow channel that divided them from the native land of the jester who was operating before them?

What did we, in our petitions of 1817, pray for Reform in order to make corn low-priced? Do we now pray for it, in order to make corn high-priced? Do we now pray for it, in order to see "re-stored the good old times of 1817?" Thou impudent mountebank! Thou jack-pudding of the Liverpool stage! Thou at once the most impudent and most mean of all creatures, when did we pray for any of these things? You are a pretty fellow to be the "leader" of a legislative assembly! Go away with you! This alone shows that you could never be tolerated. Mr. PEEL is, at any rate, no jack-pudding: no "Mr. Merryman;" he may be, and he will be, unable to suggest any remedy without a Reform of the Parliament; but we shall not, as we read his speeches, figure to ourselves a fellow with ruddled cheeks and jacket with buttons as big as plum-cakes.

I shall, by-and-by, have to show how Reform is connected with the state of the country. But, I must first notice your little side-wind dissertation on our foreign politics.

3. POLICY WITH REGARD TO FOREIGN NATIONS.—This is a very curious part of your performance, and I beg the public attention to it.

"This subject becomes the more important, when we consider that in the age in which we live there exists in some countries an open, and in others a secret struggle against monarchy and aristocracy—God be praised we have not our part to take in such a struggle—God be praised we have already derived all the benefit which can be derived from the conflict, and therefore it is our duty not to side in the assault with those who ask too much, or with those who will grant nothing. We ought not to stimulate either party, we ought to stand upon a firm basis as spectators interested in the contest, and perhaps ultimately the umpire. But if we prematurely make ourselves a party, we shall lose the commanding position which we hold; we shall also lose the power of doing much good, and perhaps run the risk of having our own institutions not altered but overthrown." (Cheers.)

Now, if this be sound and good, what was that which was held forth to us in the case of the French War, or, rather, the war against the French people, and for the restoration of the Bourbons, the Pope and the Inquisition? Oh! but, "we have already derived all the benefit which can be derived from the conflict." Yes; eight hundred millions of debt in one shape; and about a hundred millions in another shape (the dead charge!) And, besides these, a standing live charge of about ten millions a year for army and other things. These are the "benefits" which we have "already derived from the conflict." What other benefits may be in reserve, I cannot

say; but this I well know, that it has already cost all this to prevent Reform; and this is now the general opinion, and will remain to be the general opinion, in spite of all that can be said or done by you and all the rest of the political mountebanks.

"Umpire!" We the Umpire! Do you hear of any people appealing to us? The first step even of Portugal, a sort of province of England, was to chase away all Englishmen in authority, and to show, in the most marked manner, a resolution not to suffer us to show our noses in their concerns. In the several countries where there has been, or is, a struggle for freedom, there have been divers projects of government on foot, and in many cases foreign aid has been sought; but, in no one instance has there been a single projector to propose an imitation of your "tripartite Government," and in no one instance has there been an application to that Government for aid. Oh, no! The nations of the world know too well what your "tripartite" is. It is "as notorious as the sun at noonday," and the nations cast it from them; keep it out, as they would the yellow fever or the plague.

4. DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY.

—On the day of your great *benefit*; the day of your *last performance*, you said nothing upon this subject, though it was one to which a would-be "leader" might have been expected to allot a considerable portion of his remarks. Upon the minor stage, however, the "Little Theatre" of your Club, you made this distress a part of your performance; and, a

very pretty part it was, as we are now going to see.

Gentlemen, you embodied yourselves at a time when the country was in great difficulties, both at home and abroad.—The councils to which we gave our cordial support have gloriously surmounted the external difficulties; and surmounted them not as those who were then opposed to us recommended,—by compromise, by trucking, or by a mere accidental lucky escape, but by perseverance, by steadiness, by confidence in ourselves, in our country and our cause, by a triumph without example, as our exertions were without precedent or parallel. Unfortunately, great efforts are not to be made without great sacrifices, and as the overstrained exertion of the political as well as of the physical body, produces lassitude and exhaustion; unfortunately, the conclusion of our dangers from without was followed by internal dangers, which if not more difficult to overcome, were equally more painful to combat. In combating such dangers, we were animated by none of the feelings which sustained us during the conflict with the foreign foe; we felt that we were at war with those who ought to have been our fellows in sentiment, as in country; and our triumph was painful in its execution, though just and merciful in its purpose. Long may those over whom it was achieved spare, in peace and tranquillity, the benefit of its achievement! I would fain hope, indeed, Gentlemen, that we have no more such struggles, no more such triumphs to apprehend. Looking abroad through Europe, I see no near prospect of a call upon this country for any foreign exertion. At home, I do not disguise from myself that I see great difficulties and great distress, but I see those difficulties and that distress in quarters where education and intelligence may be expected to counteract intem-

perance of feeling, to correct prejudice, and to discountenance faction. The suffering was, ere while, in those classes of society with whom suffering naturally begets impatience, and absorbs reflection, and delivers over the sufferer, in pardonable and pitiable delusion, a prey to every designing demagogue who points out resistance as a remedy. It exists now, I am grieved to acknowledge, in higher classes of society, not less entitled to sympathy, not less objects of compassion, and, where practicable, of relief; but who know that their safety, as well as their prosperity, is bound up with the peace of the kingdom; and who, when they are satisfied that the privations which they now endure are such as neither laws nor governments can cure, will be cautious not to lend their authority to any schemes, which, under pretence of alleviating present and partial evils, may lead to the disturbance of their country. I am confident, that, having, during a great struggle of so many years, preached patience to the humbler classes of the community, the higher will not now desert their duty, by refusing, in their turn, to practise the same degree of patience which has been generally displayed by those beneath them. For, Gentlemen, apart from the interests of separate classes, we have all a common interest in the conservation of that order of things which is the security of the whole. We must feel, I am sure, and none feel more than those whom I am addressing, that it would be a peevish and unthinking spirit, which, under the irritation of a temporary inconvenience, should quarrel, not with the immediate sources of immediate suffering, but with all that surrounds them, with all that is contemporary with them, with passive circumstances as well as with active causes; as a child, in its anger, beats the ground, because for a moment it has fallen. To maintain to our native land that

supremacy which it has long exercised, we must look to the maintenance of its institutions; and if, in a moment of uncomfortable pressure, we lay hold, in anger, on those established institutions, and shake them to ruin, we may be perfectly sure, that, while we procure no remedy for the evil that assails us, we shall take from our posterity, probably from ourselves, the means of safety as well as the hope of reparation.

This is quite enough to convince any man of sense, that you are wholly unfit to have any hand in conducting the affairs of this country. It shows, that you know nothing at all, that you can know nothing at all, about them; and, of course, that you would be a sad load upon the shoulders of a Ministry, who, if they, even without any such load, get out of the present mess, or even stagger along in it for another year, without being buried alive, will deserve to be ranked amongst the cleverest fellows that ever walked on the face of the earth; and God only knows how far that is from being their true character! We have here quite enough to convince any man of sense, that you cannot be in place; that is to say, here, at home. In place, somewhere or other, you will be, as long as the system last, unless you be absolutely kept out by physical force. But, this dissertation on distress is conclusive as to the impossibility of your being in place at home; or, at least, in any place that would expose the Ministry to the risk of your opening your mouth in the House of Commons. If the licence-fellows and place-hunters at Liverpool continued to return you (and they would as long as there were pickings) your col-

leagues must absolutely mangle you, or prepare for making their exit from Whitehall; and that they certainly would not do without many and many a broken heart-string.

But, now, let us look at this "statesman-like" thing a little in detail; beginning with the "triumph" of the late war. This triumph was, you say, "without example;" and so it was; for it cost a thousand millions of Taxes during war, and it has left the nation loaded with six hundred millions of Change Alley Debt, contracted during the war, with a hundred millions of Dead Charge Debt, with a hundred millions of Poor-rate Debt, and with about two hundred millions of Live Charge Debt. This is what "the triumph" cost; and, therefore, it certainly was a triumph "without example." You say, that "the triumph" was obtained by "steadiness" and by "confidence." That is to say, by steadiness in borrowing and never paying; and by confidence in the force of money; for by money it was, and by money only, that "the triumph," which was a triumph over England, and not over France, was obtained.

"Unfortunately:" what! Can any thing unfortunate have come out of this "triumph?" We shall hear. Yes: "unfortunately, great efforts and over-strained exertions are followed by asthenia and exhaustion in the political as well as in the physical body." So, then, there were over-strained exertions, though you had told the gaping blood-suckers, just before, that "the triumph" was obtained by steadiness and confidence. The crew that were listening to you know a

little something of commercial over-straining; over-pulling, or drawing; and they know, too, that it indicates any thing but "steadiness and confidence;" but that it, like your's, never fails to produce "lassitude and exhaustion;" only it always (except amongst mountebanks) produces the exhaustion first and the lassitude afterwards.

From this sickly stuff, you come to the internal wars of 1817 and 1819; and here you discover all that flippant insolence and that dunghill-cock boldness that have long secured to you so large a portion of public detestation. You and your crew, (who now toasted the *Manchester Magistrates*) "*triumphed*" then, too, did you! You gained a "*painful triumph*:" it was "painful in its execution and merciful in its purpose." There only wanted *Oliver* and *Edwards*, one to sit on your right hand and one on your left. But, I do not know, indeed, that this was necessary. You must have been sure of your men, before you talked in this style.

You "*triumphed*" in 1817 and 1819. Your means were, the *Manchester Magistrates* and *Yeomanry*; the *Oldham Inquest*; *Oliver*; *Edwards*; the *Six-Acts*. These indicated that merciful purpose of which you have the insolence to talk. And, as to your own particular mercifulness, we have on record "*the revered and ruptured Ogden*," and the loud laugh with which it was received. That is down to your account. We have that as a proof of the mercifulness of your purpose. Your "*triumph*," that triumph of which you boast, was a triumph over those laws, which you now

affect to hold in such reverence; and enough of which will, I trust, be left, at last, for purposes not necessary to be particularly mentioned here. Your crew say, that you are going to be Governor-General of India; but, neither Swann, nor Knight, nor Dewhurst, nor any other of the victims of your "*triumph*" has, in my view of things, the smallest reason to wish to change chances with you; and, this I put down in black and white, that my words, like those with regard to Peel's Bill, may be remembered. I could now tell your fortune pretty nearly as accurately as I did the fortune of that Bill. When you once see the cliffs of England behind you, - - - - - But, let it be for the present, You will know all about it quite soon enough.

We now come to your "*Statesman-like view*" of the situation of the *Farmers* and *Landlords*; and here we shall see how fit you would be for a Minister. You comfort yourself by the reflection, that the distress is now amongst persons of "*education*," and not amongst those who are liable to be deluded by "*designing demagogues*." But, what is education to do for the sufferers! Will they bear beggary the better for having been gentlemen? Oh, no! This is not what you mean. You mean, that, being persons of education, they will see, that their own "*safety is bound up with the peace of the country*." In short, that they will not be for Reform; because they will see, that their sufferings, which are only temporary and partial, cannot be put an end to, or lessened, by any thing that the Government can do. In the first place, you do not

appear to see, that the whole body of farmers must lose their capital, and the landlords their estates, unless the Government do *something*, and that quickly too. Not seeing this, it is no wonder that your head runs upon the dangers that the great would run the risk of from Reform. The mass of proprietors and occupiers of land *must be ruined without Reform*; and you are talking to them of the dangers that *might* come with Reform. You are telling them that their "*safety is bound up*" with the present mode of going on, and they know, as well as you know what a salary of fourteen thousand a-year is, that their *certain ruin* is bound up with that same mode of going on. Tell them how they can get *rents*, or keep their *farm-stock* from the hands of the *Sheriff*, with wheat at 4s. a bushel: tell them that, and cease your unmeaning babble about "*safety bound up with the peace of the country*." They now know pretty well, that *their safety is not bound up* with *Change Alley*, the *Dead Charge*, the *Live Charge*, and *Whitehall*. They know, that they must be *unbound* from these, or some of these, or that they are all a herd of beggars; and that, in that case, "*the peace of the country*" will be of no great value to them.

It is useless (though they deserve it at *your hands* particularly) for you to *twit* them with the *patience* that "*they preached*" to the suffering millions. You can hardly refrain from *jesting* even here; and here you might employ it with some degree of *justice*, though your disposition to do it shows what a shallow thing you are. What is the amount of

all your exhortations to *this great* class of sufferers? What are you driving at, when you call upon them to be cautious how they sanction any thing that may "*lead to the disturbance of their country*?" What boots your solemn observation, that "*we have*" "*all a common interest in the conservation of that order of things*" "*which is the security of the whole*?" To what end is this sprouting of the potatoe; this palpable Irish Bull? It is the *disturbance in their pockets* that they are thinking about, and, though they know, that the present order of things is exceedingly good for *tax-eaters*, it is by no means good for them, and that "*we*," if such as you are put along with the landlords and farmers and traders and non-tax-eaters, have not a "*common interest*;" but, on the contrary, that the interests are directly opposed to each other; and, what is more, that, in their present state, the two descriptions of persons can no longer *co-exist*.

It is perfect nonsense, therefore, to talk, in such a case, of the classes in question being "*ruined*" by any "*shaking of the institutions*" of the country. They must be *ruined*, unless those things which you call *institutions* be shaken. They must be *ruined*; they are condemned to ruin, unless the *Debt* and the *Seat-selling* be shaken, and speedily and well shaken too; and as to what "*potterity*" would have taken from it by this shaking, it would certainly have *taken from it* about seven hundred millions of *Debt*, together with *Six Acts* and a great number of other *valubles* provided for it and intended to be enjoyed by it as long as there

shall be a people called the English.

It is not stuff like this that can induce the owners of the land and of goods to refrain from wishing for Reform, if by no other means they can keep their land and their goods; and, if you cannot see, they can, *how it is that the rotten Boroughs take away their goods and estates*, an instance of which operation I will now give you, as a thing for you to jest upon at your next exhibition, if you should ever have another on the boards in this country. You say, that Reform will not raise prices. Empty Mountebank! Flippant Mr. Merryman! who ever said, or seemed to think, that it would? Who but knaves and fools ever wished for such rise? And, above all things, who ever said, or thought, or dreamed, that Reform would tend to produce such an effect? But, there was a thing, which we said Reform would do; namely, to *raise the taxes to be reduced*; to take off a large part of that 60 millions a-year, which is the cause of *all the distress*, in your country as well as in ours; for, you, in speaking in your flippant manner about the present ease and happiness of the *humbler classes*, seem to have wholly forgotten, that the people of whole parishes in your own country have been receiving the *extreme unction* in consequence of a total want of food, while corn and meat were daily shipped from that very country in prodigious quantities; you seem to have wholly forgotten that the best of all possible Parliaments had before, at one and the same moment, a vote of money to relieve

the starving people of Ireland, and a Report recommending a vote of money to enable the Government to take English and Irish corn into pawn on account of its *over-abundance*; you seem to have forgotten all this completely, when you were jabbering away about *the ease and comfort and happiness of the humbler classes*.

The cause, and the only cause, of all the distress, in all the ranks of life, is, the 60 millions of taxes; and, a large part of these, we say, would be taken off by Reform, and never will, in that large part, be taken off without Reform. This is what we say; and, if we be told, that the taxes are wanted; that the expenditure which is now going on is just and necessary, we deny the assertion; we disprove it point by point, from the 'Change-Ally debt down to the Door-keepers at Whitehall. It would require volumes to exhibit in detail every instance of monstrous extravagance; but, we, now-and-then, take an instance; and, such an one I am going to take now.

Much of the squanderings that have taken place, took place under pretence of a rise in the price of provisions. Now, Jack-Pudding, I am going to show, in a few words and a few figures, what will have more effect in producing a Reform, than would be produced against it by all that you could say, if you were to begin gabbling to-morrow, and go on to the end of your life. Mark, Mountebank: wheat, meat, all farm-produce, every article of it, is lower priced now than in 1792. Farmers and landlords look at the following:

IN THE ORDNANCE :

	Full Pay and Allowances in 1792.	Full Pay and Allowances in 1821.
Secretary to Board of Ordnance	£ 510	£ 1695
Chief Clerk to Surveyor General	457	1185
Assistant to - Ditto	200	835
Chief Clerk to the Clerk of the Ordnance	300	1035
Chief Clerk to the Principal Storekeeper	200	935
- Ditto - to Clerk of Delivery	200	935
- Ditto - to Treasury	200	737
- Ditto - to Board of Ordnance	200	1125
Second Clerk to - Ditto	200	1177
Superintendent of Ordnance Shipping	150	827
WOOLWICH :		
Storekeeper	160	700
Clerk of Survey	100	475
Ditto of Cheque	89	362
PLYMOUTH :		
Storekeeper	140	725
Clerk of Survey	120	475
Ditto of Cheque	100	292
FEVERSHAM :		
Storekeeper	150	575
Clerk of Cheque	90	362
GIBRALTAR :		
Storekeeper	182 10s.	725
Clerk of Survey	169 10s.	355
Ditto of Cheque	91 5s.	262

This is one of the ways in which the estates are taken from the Landlords, the farm-stock from the Farmers, and the goods from the Tradesmen! The above belongs to the *Live Charge*. Let us now take a specimen of the

"*Dead Charge*." And compare the *Full Pay* of 1792 with the *Retired Allowances* of 1821 ; these retired allowances being sums given to those who now do nothing at all,

	Full Pay, 1792.	Retired Allowances, 1821.
Chief Clerk to Clerk of Ordnance	£ 300	£ 900
Ditto - Ditto Clerk of Deliveries	200	577
Ditto - Ditto Principal Storekeeper	200	477
Plymouth Storekeeper	140	577
Sheerness Ditto	100	500
Waltham Abbey Ditto	150	400
Dover Ditto	120	333
Feverisham Ditto	150	320
Portsmouth Clerk of Survey	150	375
Plymouth - Ditto	120	262
Waltham Abbey Ditto	-	300
Gravesend Clerk of Cheque	95 10s.	192
Sheerness - Ditto	80	200

	Full Pay, 1792.	Retired Allowances, 1821.
Tower Clerks - - - - -	—	£ 350
Ditto - - - - -	—	458
Ditto - - - - -	—	320
Ditto - - - - -	—	412
Ditto - - - - -	—	393

To ask, whether man ever heard of any thing so monstrous as this before would be foolish; for, hundreds of things equally monstrous, equally an outrage to the feelings of the nation, have been pointed out by Mr. HUME. But I may reasonably ask (and I put it to almost any man on earth but you, Mountebank of Liverpool) whether this, or any thing like this, could be, if the House of Commons, who vote all the money, were chosen by the people at large; that is to say, by those who pay the taxes that are thus expended? And, impudent Mr. Merryman, do you think, that facts like these are to be driven out of the minds of the half-ruined farmers and landlords by your exhortations not to "*disturb the peace*," or "*shake the institutions*?" How are they to see any danger, *to themselves*, in the reform that you are so much afraid of? They can easily enough see why it is that you are anxious about "*institutions*" like the above; but, they cannot so easily see how *their* "*safety*" is bound up with such "*institutions*;" or how they are to be "*ruined*" by the *shaking* of such institutions. They are seeking for something to prevent them from losing their last acre, their last head of stock and last package of goods. They see here how it is that these go away; and, whatever you may think of your talent at jesting, there will

require something more than jests to keep "*institutions*" like the above standing even only for one more year!

What I have shown would be enough; but, since my hand is in, and to come to close quarters with the rotten boroughs, and show the farmers how they take away their sheep and cows, I will give another instance. One of those sweet rotten things, to which you bear such an affectionate attachment, is called *Queenborough*; that is to say, the queen of all rotten boroughs. However, we shall see, that the "*freemen*" of this borough are persons of singular merit; for, of the *Members of the Corporation* (which is an "*institution*") all but one are in some office or other under, or have some money transaction with, the *Government*. There are, in this sweet borough, about three hundred "*freemen*," and of these and their sons and other relations, one hundred and ninety are in *public employ*. Amongst them they receive, in various ways, about 25,000*l.* a-year; but, one hundred and forty-seven freemen and eleven of their sons, receive, in salaries and allowances, nearly 20,000*l.* a-year!

This is the way in which we show how it is that rotten boroughs work to the destruction of the country. How singular it is (if I had time to go into another paper) to perceive that the ordinance hires almost all its vessels of free-

man of Quenborough. But, it is useless to deal in particulars: the whole thing is of a piece from the top to the bottom; and until it be altered by Reform of the Parliament, the estates of the landlords, the stock of the farmers, and the goods of the tradesmen, aye, and the wages of the labourer, must continue to be transferred to the tax-eaters of various descriptions, who now cover this land as the locusts did the land of Egypt. There is a Dead Charge, as it is called. This was the name given to it by mad and impudent Castlereagh; and, the world will hardly believe it; but, in the papers laid before the House, it is, as God is my judge, called the "DEAD WEIGHT!" Why, the bare use of a couple of such words, in such a case, is a disgrace to any thing calling itself a Government. However, this "Dead Weight" amounts to *better than five millions a-year*. Now do you think that there is any body in this nation; any farmer, any landlord, any tradesman, so great a fool as not to know, that the far greater part of this Dead Weight; and, perhaps, more than forty-nine fifths of it, arises from pay and allowances given to persons belonging, in some way or other, to the boroughs? One flagrant instance let me mention; and if that be not sufficient to make men demand Reform, they deserve to be scourged, not after the manner of Solomon, but after that of Rehobam.

Amongst the half-pay officers are some, who have taken what they call *Orders*; that is to say, who have gone to the altar and declared, that they believe them-

selves called by the *Holy Ghost* to take upon them the administering of *Christ's word*, and also to take upon them the *care of souls*. The law says, that when once men do this, they can be *nothing* else than spiritual persons; that the character is *indelible*; that once a priest always a priest. Very well. Another maxim of the Government is, that the pay given to half-pay officers, is not to be considered as a remuneration for past services; but, and now mark me, jester, as a *retaining fee for future services*. This was the ground upon which Sir Robert Wilson was dismissed, and upon which a majority of the best of all possible Houses of Parliament, refused to inquire into his case. This was right: The King had a right to dismiss him at his pleasure. The half-pay is a retaining fee for future services; but, then, Liverpool Mountebank, how is it that these persons called by the Holy Ghost *continue to receive the half-pay*, though, according to law, it is *impossible for them to serve again*? How is this, Jack-pudding of Liverpool; and how is it that the best of all possible Parliaments almost laughed at Mr. Hume, when he wanted an inquiry into the matter? These persons called by the Holy Ghost make a part of this very Dead Weight, at the very time that they are as active as wasps in a *grape-ry*, receiving surplice-fees and tithes.

There are the facts. I defy the world to match them, unless there be, in some other part of the world than this, that species of "tripartite" Government and that sort of boroughs to which you are so much attached. The few facts

that I have found room to introduce here, are sufficiently illustrative of those "institutions" about which you make such a prattle, and along with which you pretend that the interests of all classes of the community are what you call "bound up." I have here gone into particulars enough to show how a Reform of the Parliament would operate on the interests of the people, and how it would and must alter the situation of the country for the better. What hope do you hold out to persons in distress? Patience is your remedy, and this would be a remedy if time would work for them; but, as is evident to all but fools, time does and must work against them; and that the evils of every day must be greater than those of the day before, until the present race of landlords, farmers and traders, shall be completely destroyed; and that even then the curse will not stop, but will keep rolling on until the Government becomes the actual landholder in trust for the fundholder and for the other swarms who live upon the taxes.

5. YOUR APPROACHING EXILE.

—Such being the situation of the country, and such your crazy notions respecting it, what a pretty gentleman you would be, to be placed in the House of Commons, at such a time, as the organ of the Government! There requires in a person to fill that post, something like a due sense of the magnitude of the difficulty in the first place; and, in the next place, a sincere disposition to take or adopt measures calculated to cure a part, at least, of the evils; but in you, who have no remedy but patience; that is to say, a waiting for

complete destruction, what confidence is the country or even the House to have! The very company, in which we find you at Liverpool; the very spectators that surrounded your stage, would forbid us to hope for any thing rational from you. JOHN GLADSTONE, the Scotch chairman of the Canning Club, who bore his precious testimony to the expediency of Peel's Bill: this man has recently published a letter, in which he ascribes the distress of the landlords and farmers to overproduction; and in which he beseeches them to adopt the remedy of sowing less seed, in order to get a smaller amount of crop! This, he says, would make the price higher; and so it would; but this wretched creature forgets that whatever sum were gained by the high price of the bushel of wheat, for instance, would, on the other hand, be lost by the diminution of the number of bushels; while, at the same time, the diminution must necessarily augment the poor-rates, increase the price of manufactured goods, and plunge the nation into all the evils of scarcity. To notice seriously any thing so monstrous as this would certainly be intolerable to my readers; but this is a specimen of the creatures by whom you were surrounded; this is a specimen of the men that can bestow praise upon you; and, there is, too, a fair enough presumption that you yourself hold the opinions of Gladstone, for every thing you do say upon the subject tends to the same monstrous absurdity.

Yet, you seem to think it hard that you are not chosen to be the leader of that House of Commons, which, in all human proba-

bility, will do a great deal towards deciding the fate of all men of property, during the very next Session. I will now take your canting, equivocating, whining and crying upon this subject.

"When called to office, in 1816, I was called to a department perfectly alien from my official habits, and with the business of which I had no previous acquaintance; but, in the course of nearly five years' diligent administration of that department, it has *so happened* that I am supposed, by those in whom the law has vested the power of appointing to the Government of India, to have qualified myself for the more immediate direction of that Government, over the concerns of which it has been my duty to exercise a distant superintendence. *Many obvious circumstances, undoubtedly, would have made it more agreeable to me to have remained in this country* [loud cheers]. I see around me more than *one hundred and sixty motives* for having so wished to remain [renewed cheers]. But, Gentlemen, I hold that a public man is, unless he can show cause of honour or duty to the contrary, bound to accept a trust, which he is selected as competent to administer for the public interest.—To an audience less enlightened, I should feel ashamed to enter thus far into the generalities, but our connection is one of principle, and to that only do I owe any claim to your attention. Whatever may be my future destination, it will be a consolation to me to reflect, that I have laid in your hearts the foundation of a most lasting regard [cheers]; and believe me, Gentlemen, that nothing shall efface from my mind the recollection of the many kindnesses I have received at your hands [cheers]. It may perhaps be thought necessary, after the speech of my Honourable Friend, and the allusions he has made to me, that I should offer a few words to you on topics connected with

the present affairs of the country, and to the rumours which have grown out of it. I cannot pretend to be ignorant of that part of those rumours which concern myself; but I have felt great difficulty in deciding, whether by passing them over in silence to incur the risk of being hereafter accused of having concealed from you something that I ought to have disclosed; or by alluding to them, to expose myself to the thousand misconstructions which beset every word spoken of himself by a person connected with active politics. I have decided upon braving the latter danger; because I am sure that no misconstruction nor inconvenience which I may bring upon myself by speaking the truth, can be so irksome to me as would be the suspicion, if ever hereafter it should be excited in your minds, that I had wilfully repaid your confidence with mistrust. Gentlemen, after this preface, I have nothing to say to you, except that I have really, and upon my honour, *nothing to tell*. I know nothing, I have heard nothing, more than *all of you, Gentlemen, of any political arrangements likely to arise from the present state of things*. It is not for me to presume that I should be in any degree concerned in such arrangements, nor to do any thing which should appear to imply such a presumption. I have, therefore, neither proposed to defer this meeting with my constituents, fixed, as you know, many months ago; nor have I suspended my preparations for departure; nor have I any ground, beyond those which lie open in common to me and to all the world, for apprehending that that departure is likely to be intercepted. It will not be expected of me that I should say any thing of *what might, in a contrary supposition, be the decision which it would become me to form*. I can only declare, with the most perfect sincerity, that such a decision would be formed by me upon an honest and impar-

tial review of public considerations alone, and would be determined, not by a calculation of *my interests*, but upon a balance of *my duties*. Gentlemen, enough of this topic, upon which I might still, perhaps, have hesitated to utter a word, if I had not been informed that my silence respecting it upon a former occasion *has* been misinterpreted. I trust I shall not now be misinterpreted the other way; and that having been *understood as ostentatiously adorning office at home*, from not adverting to the possibility of its being proposed to me, I may not now be considered as, on the other hand, *expressing an anxiety for office*, by the, I hope, sufficiently measured allusion which I have found myself at last compelled to make to surmises of which I am not the author, but the object."

I have before noticed your mean overture of a compromise with regard to the *Catholic Emancipation*. The above passages are taken, the first from your speech at Gladstone's little theatre; and the other from that made upon Holinshead's greater stage. You appear to have thought, that you had not sufficiently explained yourself the first day; that is to say, eaten humble pie sufficiently, stooped low enough. You had been, I thought, upon your knees; but in this second speech, you come, Lucifer-like, belly on the round.

However, let me go bit by bit through this matchless effusion of meanness. When "*called to office*," you say, in 1816. What do you mean by being *called*? We know, indeed, that the spiritual persons above-mentioned, and others of their cloth, are *called*: we know it, because they *must* solemnly declare it at the

altar. But we are got into a pretty state, indeed, if there is a race of beings who have *inward calls* to office, and with whom we are to be saddled for everlasting upon that ground; for, as to your having had any *outward call*; as to any body's having ever asked you to take a good fat post, let those believe that that like; or, rather that can, after your present begging and praying speech at Liverpool.

It "*happens*," does it, that you are supposed qualified to be Governor General of India. I believe that no such thing happens. I believe that the *reasons* for appointing you to India are quite as "*obvious*" (though they cannot be more so) as those circumstances "*which would have made it more agreeable to you to remain in this country*." Yes, much more agreeable to you, but much more agreeable to those that appointed you, that you should not stay in this country. Your sliding off into the "*one hundred and sixty motives*" (the number of the creatures you had around you) for wishing to remain is so much in the punning and play-actor style; smells so strongly of the green-room; that one cannot help exclaiming: what, the devil, was this man ever seated in a Cabinet by the side of a King!

You find it somewhat difficult to account for your having accepted an office, which is little more than that of Clerk or Agent to the East India Company, after having been a Secretary of State; and after having, in 1804, boasted that you had insisted upon the present Prime Minister being turned out of office, in which office you succeeded him. Do

you not remember this? I do; and I will warrant you that he has not forgotten it, whatever the newspapers may pretend upon the subject. You found it somewhat difficult to account for your having accepted this subaltern employment. We have, therefore, this doctrine conjured up: that you "hold that a *public man* "is, unless he can show cause of "honour or duty to the contrary, "bound to accept a trust which "he is selected as competent to "administer for the public interest." Here is a good deal of qualification about honour and duty and public interest; but, what do you mean by a "*public man*?" Are we unhappy enough to have; are we, really, then, cursed with a breed of this sort of creatures? "*Public man*," indeed! Why are you a public man any more than any man that is hammering a tin-kettle or holding a plough? Why every man is a public man; but, shall it be said that every man is bound to take the public money, if any body that has the power to select him selects him for it? If any body were to go to Mr. Fawkes, for instance, and tell him that he was bound to have four or five thousand a-year for being Head Clerk to the East India Company, would not he laugh at the fellow? Honour, duty, public interest; how could any of these bind him to become a clerk? and, yet, is not he as much a public man as you? Plain English of this doctrine is, that you "*hold*" (and I will engage you will always hold) that it is right for you to get as much as you can; and that if you cannot get it in a high post you must get it in a low one. This is the plain

English of your *holding*; and stick to it you will as long as you have breath in your body.

It generally happens, that the second day's dish is inferior to that of the first day. This is the case here; for, though the first day was bad enough, the latter brought us something to exceed, in point of meanness, every thing ever heard of before as coming from a man having any pretensions to spirit or to talent. We see a pretended explanation; a pretended hearing of rumours; and this for the express purpose of telling, not the despicable creatures by whom you were surrounded on your Liverpool stage, but the Ministers at Whitehall, that you were ready to stay if they would but have you. You pretend that, the exhibition at the little theatre had left you to be "*understood as ostentatiously abjuring office at home*;" and therefore you wished to explain that you knew nothing of any new political arrangements, and that, "it would not become you to say what might be your decision in case of your being included in such arrangements." Never fear, man; never fear, Mr. Merryman! The man of the red lion will not be included in any such arrangements, whether he abjure office at home or not; that is to say, unless all the Ministers should be seized with a "*mental delusion*." The Ministers, by the good grace of His Majesty, and by the greatest piece of luck that ever befel mortal men, have no longer *Sidmouth and Castlereagh* for us to harp upon. Freed from these; this load taken from their shoulders, can any thing short of downright staring madness induce them vo-

luntarily to incur the affliction of the Liverpool operator; whose every word still continues to be offensive to every one that does suffer, that has suffered, or that is likely to suffer distress of any kind or in any degree?

How are the Ministers to suppose that they are to conciliate the people by taking in amongst them the man that comes up reeking hot from boasting that he was one of those that "*triumphed*" over the people in 1817 and 1819: that comes, reeking hot from a club of wretches that had the audacity to *toast the Manchester magistrates*? If we look at your present doctrine of patience to the half-ruined landlords and the despairing farmers; if we reflect on your defence of the enormous retired allowances, and your calling them vested interests; or, if we remember your vapouring defence of Peel's Bill, in favour of which you called for an unanimous vote, and which you said settled the question for ever: whether, in short, we look at the present or the past, or calculate upon the future, where is the man, who, having his property dependent on the acts of the Government, would not be plunged into despair upon seeing you forming part of the Ministry? However, though it would be downright madness in the ministers, I am not sure it would not be *in the end*, beneficial to the nation that you should once more act your part at Whitehall. For my own part, in losing you, I shall lose one of my best subjects. You have been, for a great many years, not a standing dish, but a most delightful occasional repast. Here or there, no matter where, your career, such as it has been, draws

towards a close. When you bade the servile sots at Liverpool farewell, with good reason did you say that it was hard; for it was a farewell not only to their adulation, but to every thing of which you have been in the pursuit ever since your name was known to the public.

From the whole of your speech as far as it relates to yourself and your prospects, one would imagine, that there was some overruling necessity; some positive law, at least; some penal statute that compelled you, either to go to India, or to fill some office of emolument at home. One would think there was something like fatality in your destiny; a sort of political predestination. I am aware of the existence of no such thing. If there be obvious reasons for your wishing to stay at home; we will say nothing about your *one hundred and sixty green-room reasons*: but if there be obvious reasons for your wishing to stay at home, why do you not stay at home? Aye, but then comes the other question, will they *give you a place at home*? Well, suppose they do not; cannot you stay at home without a place, as I do? I stay at home without having any place. To be sure, you and your colleagues did send me abroad, and the Magistrates in Lancashire put a man in prison for saying that I was come back in good health. But here I am. I am a *public man* as much as you, or else the devil is in it; and yet I stay here without any place, and live very happily in England. Why cannot you do the same? As to want of employment, where is there a prettier spinner of paragraphs and

epigrams in this country or in any other ! Why, your King of Bohemia and your Red Lion would be worth, each of them, half-a-crown and more too, as far as I know, at the offices of any of the morning papers. I am a wretched hand at paragraphs and puns and epigrams compared to you, and yet, you see, I do very well. They knock me down ; I get up again : they tread me under foot, drag me in the kennel, and out I come again as fresh as a rose. I have been *destroyed* fifty times, at the least ; and yet, you see, I am as much a

corporeal being as ever. Why cannot you do the same ! Why run whining and crying after place ; when experience has taught you what you can do in our way ? You were, beyond all comparison, the most lively newspaper writer in England. In short, stay with us ! Bid us good night, if you like, but do not repeat that "cruel, cruel word, farewell."

I am,

Mr. Merryman,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

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TO THE

BISHOP OF LONDON.

*On the Charge, lately delivered
by him, and published in the
Newspapers of the 27th of
August 1822.*

Kensington, 10 Sept. 1822.

DEAR,

THE above-mentioned paper, called a *Charge*, contains, in my opinion, matter that ought to be commented on and exposed; and, as it is probable, that no other person will do this, I think proper to do it. If, in doing it, I treat you with very little ceremony, pray ascribe it to the right cause; namely, that I think very little ceremony is due to you. After *Father in God Prettyman's History of the Life of Pitt*; after

that dish of detestable politics from the pen of a Bishop; and after something more recent, I can see no special privilege that Bishops have, when they become authors, and particularly when they meddle with politics, as you do in the paper on which I am about to remark. We know, that it is a rule of law, that the King can do no wrong; and we have heard a hypocritical and base sycophant extend this maxim, which only means that the King is not personally responsible for the wrong that may be done in his name; we have heard a detestable old hypocrite extend this maxim even to the private actions of the King, and shamelessly assert, that he could not do any thing vicious or foolish. This despicable parasite might, perhaps, be ready to tell us, that

X

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Bishops, especially as they "re-
ceive the Holy Ghost" at their
consecration, cannot possibly
commit either wickedness or folly;
but, while we have recently had a
most satisfactory proof that they
can commit the former, I shall,
I think, before I have finished this
Letter, pretty satisfactorily show,
that it is within the compass of
possibility that they may commit
the latter.

That which I have before me,
from the newspapers as above-
mentioned, is only a part of the
Charge, which is said to have
been delivered to your Clergy in
July last; but, it appears to be
that part, in which alone *the pub-
lic* have any interest. It gives us
your view of the means to be
made use of by the Clergy, or
Parsons (for that is the proper
word), *to maintain an influence
over the minds of the people.*
You say not a word about their
keeping possession of the im-
mense revenue they now enjoy;
though, I do assure you, that I
am not going to be fool enough to

argue the question as if I deemed
this revenue to be a thing wholly
out of your mind!

It is very clear to every man of
any extent of understanding as
to public matters, in this country,
that this revenue is not likely to
remain long what it now is. To
touch the *Dolt*, to lay even the
little finger on it; to touch the
soundest and most unbroken skin
of *Waterloo*; to take from any
branch whatever, is impossible,
without touching, and pretty
sharply touching, this revenue.
Priests, never the last to perceive
danger, when it menaces their
own possessions, have hardly fail-
ed to see this as clearly as it is
seen by other people. At such a
time, therefore, what they say
upon the means of maintaining
their influence is important to the
public at large; and especially if
they put forth *political doctrines*
such as those which we find in
the Charge of London's Right
Reverend Father in God.

Before I proceed further, I
shall, according to my invariable,

and, I trust, honourable, custom, insert, at full length, the part of your Charge, on which I am going to remark. The reader will then have both sides fairly before him.

1. "We live at one of those remarkable periods, which constitute eras in the history of the world. For a series of years preceeding the French Revolution, the diffusion of knowledge and cultivation of intellect in France, and the neighbouring countries, exceeded in such a proportion the counterbalancing powers of religion and morality, that all competent judges, acquainted with the state of society, agreed in opinion that some mighty convulsion was at hand. Of the disasters which followed that dreadful event, and the shock which it gave to the civil and religious institutions of the continent, it is altogether superfluous to speak. But whilst the world was involved in confusion around us, this country, by the blessing of PROVIDENCE, was not only preserved from destruction, but rose to an eminence of glory and power, which it had never attained in former times. In reasoning on the causes of this difference in our favour, we are justified, I trust, in ascribing our safety to the quantity of virtue and good sense produced in the country by the free constitution of our Government, the equal administration of our laws, the principles which regulate our seminaries for the education of youth, and, above all, to the prevalence of a sound, a pure, a reasonable Religion, dispensed and administered by a body of Clergy, who, from their external condition, and still more from their learning and piety, have an influence on the minds of the people, not only through the medium of their

pastoral functions, but by the effect of their writings, and the estimation which they bear in the community. The immediate danger is now past: but when we direct our attention to the systematic culture of intellect introduced in the course of a few years among all classes, we cannot but feel an anxiety lest the balance of society should suffer disturbance from this sudden increase of its momentum. In proportion as these additional energies imparted to the mass of the people are under the direction of good principles, they will give stability to the Government, advance the cause of religion and morals, and contribute to the general advantage. But there is no necessary connexion between knowledge and goodness, between the possession of intellectual power, and a disposition to apply it to its proper ends. Its legitimate use may exalt us to heights of civilization and happiness, as much above our present condition, as that condition exceeds the state of society at the commencement of the fifteenth century; its abuse may be fatal to our existing establishments, may demolish the bulwarks of strength and security, erected by the wisdom of our ancestors, and consolidated during a succession of ages, by their continued labours. The enemies of religion and order are so well aware of these consequences, that, while they profess an earnest desire to enlighten the people, they encourage that *nude* of instruction alone, which instils no fixed principles of religion, no preference to any form of worship. It therefore must be our object, on the other hand, to maintain the proportion which should always exist between the active powers of the public mind, and the control and direction of their exercise by the operation of moral causes. And this we must do, not by discouraging the acquisition of knowledge or the cultivation of under-

standing, among the lower orders, but by taking effectual methods to supply their minds with just notions of their duty towards God and man, and place them under the habitual direction of sound principles and good feelings. I need not inform you, my Reverend Brethren, that this is our peculiar province, and that the filial attachment, which is manifested by so many wise and virtuous persons, to the Church and the Clergy, is founded in a rational persuasion of the superior excellence of our national faith and worship, and of the benefits derived to the country from the ability and zeal of its Ministers. I have adverted above to the influence of the Clergy as one of the principal causes which ensured the safety of the nation, amidst the extremes of confusion and anarchy which agitated the neighbouring countries: and I cannot but think that any material diminution of that influence, which is essential to the success of their exertions, and of course still more its extinction, would produce, at no great distance of time, the most injurious consequences both to the Church and State. Their weight in society of course will depend on the estimation in which their character is held, and on the manner in which they discharge their duties. Allow me to call your attention to these two points.

2. "The Laity have a right to expect that the attainments, in learning and piety, of the Clergy, considered as a body, should rise, at the least, above the ordinary level of other classes of society. Such comparative excellence I believe to have been found in every country where the discipline or doctrine of the Church has been maintained in tolerable purity. I even think it essential to the continued existence of any religious establishment. It was one of the most efficient causes of that respect for the sacred order, which occasioned our gradual ad-

vance in riches and power, and was long retained amidst gross abuses of both, in the middle ages. If, in that period of darkness, ecclesiastics were licentious and illiterate, the body of the people was still more deeply immersed in vice and ignorance. It is true, that the scandal occasioned by the remissness of discipline, and the immoralities which infected the Church, undermined by degrees the foundations of the ecclesiastical power, and at length brought about the Reformation. Yet it does not appear that the clergy in that day were less respectable in attainments or morals than in several preceding centuries. The number of ecclesiastics distinguished by learning and sanctity who respectively supported the Reformation, or adhered to the Church of Rome, abundantly proves the contrary. But of the general improvement which took place in society at the revival of letters, the largest proportion had fallen to the share of the Laity; the Clergy, from various causes, were not benefited in an equal degree: and from this alteration in their relative circumstances, and its effect on the feelings of the public, they necessarily lost the ascendancy, which had been preserved without difficulty by their less meritorious predecessors in a darker age. In referring to these historical facts, it is simply my object to urge the necessity of maintaining our proper position in relation to the mass of society; to press the important truth, that, if other classes advance in knowledge, intelligence, virtue, and piety, and the Clergy, whatever are their positive merits in all these respects, continue stationary, they are placed on a different level in regard to their flocks, and will suffer a proportionate loss in their credit and weight with the public, and consequently in their professional utility. It is incumbent on us to advance with the progress of the times; and every indi-

vidual should act as if the whole interest of religion depended on his personal character, and the faithful exertion of his powers within his allotted sphere. In all ranks of society are numbers of persons who are qualified to judge of our learning, of the soundness of our doctrine, and the efficiency of our instructions, and who regard with disgust even the slightest inattention to duty, or impropriety of moral conduct. And *far be it from us to consider this as an evil.* If such conscientious censors had the direction of public opinion, their honest inspection would be of the greatest advantage to all classes of men, and, without offence be it said, to the Clergy. *But where knowledge is extensively spread, the power it gives will be often exerted detrimentally.* Even the spirit of piety will sometimes act on erroneous views; will be found in combination with attachment to party, which gives an obliquity to its motions, or defeat its own intentions by an alliance with enthusiasm or folly.

3. "It is not easy to calculate the multiplied difficulties which, from these and similar causes, increase on the Clergyman, as the world advances in knowledge, and create a corresponding necessity of discretion in his conduct, and energy in the discharge of his duties. There have, perhaps, been times in the Church, when reverence to official station might protect the infirmity, or throw a veil over the failings of the Minister: but now, when he is subjected at every step to the scrutiny of inquisitive malice; when opposition is created to his honest endeavours to be useful, from so many various causes; when the establishment of a school, or the enlargement of a church, is resisted by one man from some wretched political prejudice, by another through caprice or perverseness, and by a third in resentment

for some fancied neglect, which disposes him to mortify the pastor in the tenderest point by defeating his schemes for the benefit of his flock, we see how great the necessity of the utmost assistance which personal qualifications can lend to his sacred function. But if the Minister has on the one side to contend with the opposition of adversaries, he is assailed on the other by the injudicious zeal of real or apparent friends; who, pursuing beneficial objects without due regard to the means which they employ, or sacrificing general principles to the prospect of some immediate good, are disposed to accuse him of indifference, or bigotted attachment to forms, if, through regard to good order or apprehension of distant consequences, he refuses to co-operate in their favourite schemes. In the midst of these difficulties our only real security will be found in a fixed resolution to act in every instance on deliberate views of duty, and a sincere and sober love of truth, under a controlling sense of that *Supreme Authority, from which we derive our commission*, as the guides and teachers of our brethren. The natural tendency of these principles to enlighten and tranquillize the mind, affords the strongest of safe-guards as well against error and indiscretion (more frequently the effects of some undue bias on the affections, than of natural weakness of judgment) as against the transports of passion, which irritate, offend, and disgust, and produce lasting resentments and divisions. A Clergyman who acts on these motives, will have the advantage of moving with authority, dignity, and freedom; he will retain his influence over his friends, though he may refuse compliance with their prejudices; he will treat the gainsayer with kindness, whilst he exposes the unsoundness of his principles; and will show courtesy and friendliness to the dis-

sender, without being supposed to approve his errors. The general rule of his proceedings will be, to "*overcome evil with good*," by conciliation to all men, as far as it is consistent with the interests of truth, and that enlightened attachment which he feels to the Church, from a thorough persuasion that the best interests of religion are concerned in its stability, and that no particular advantage which can be expected from popular favour, or the exertions of irregular piety, would counterbalance the evils arising from the neglect of its discipline and ordinances, or the diminution of its salutary influence. This, I conceive, is the genuine liberality, which is the grace and ornament of the true Christian: a virtue, as far removed from indifference, as from the contentious spirit which assumes the disguise of zeal. The sentiment *misnamed liberality*, which looks with equal approbation on every sect that professes Christianity, is, in its most innocent form, *a low and contemptible vanity*; it is more frequently, perhaps, a profligate indifference to religion, or insidious hostility intending its ruin, by depressing the established Church. But true liberality is firm in its own principles, while it looks *with indulgence* on the mistaken views of others; and never approaches so near to perfection, as in union with zeal, under the direction of *charity* and prudence. It would ill deserve the character of a Christian virtue, if it could lend its countenance, however indirectly, to error or falsehood, or shrink from the defence of truth."

Here is my matter, Bishop; and now I shall proceed to *deal* with it in the manner that I think it calls for. The *French Revolu-*

tion has been such a famous stalking-horse for so many years; has so long been so useful to the parsons of all degrees, that it would have been a wonder indeed if you had not brought it forth upon this occasion, though a very little reflection might have taught you, that you ought to have avoided it.

You here tell us that the French Revolution was occasioned by the parsons not having kept sufficiently in advance of the people of France with regard to *knowledge*; that is to say, with regard to knowledge to be acquired from books. This is one of your assertions. Another is, that a Revolution has been prevented in England by the parsons having maintained their proper place; that is to say, by their being in advance of the people in point of *knowledge* of the sort just spoken of.

These are your two principal positions. They form the foundation of all that follows; and I undertake to prove them both to be *false*. But before I go into this

proof; let me ask how this doctrine of yours agrees with the doctrines of the Christian religion; with the doctrines; or, perhaps, maxims, laid down by Christ himself. Did he depend on the *erudition*, or *cunning*, of the teachers, for the success of that doctrine, which he was teaching? On the contrary, did he not say that it was from the mouths of *babes* and *sucklings*; that is to say, from persons of the simplest understandings and manners, and most unostentatious dress and appearance, that he expected his gospel to be spread abroad with success? Did he choose, for his Apostles, men with immense estates, scores of manors, scores of gamekeepers, and with apparel the most sumptuous that can be conceived? Did he ever say or ever insinuate, that the success of his saving word depended upon the teachers of it having palaces for their places of residence; having parks well stocked with deer; having retinues of servants equal in number

to one or more troops of horse; having kitchens, the fumes of which give an odour to the atmosphere; and gardens, coming up to Mahomet's idea of Elysium; did he ever say or insinuate, that it was necessary, in order to make his word successful, that it should be taught by men, dressed in lawn and lolling in coaches drawn by six horses? You know well, that he chose for his Apostles twelve men, from amongst the lowest of mankind; from amongst fishermen and labourers; and that, when he sent them forth at last, he charged them to take neither staff nor scrip; but to depend for their very subsistence upon what the faithful might choose to bestow upon them. Upon this condition it was that he promised to be with them always, even unto the end of the world.

But you; what do you say? Why, that the parsons must depend for success upon their being more *learned*, more *knowing*, more *clever* than the rest of the community. You seem to forget all

about the promise of Christ to be with his Apostles to the end of the world, to guide and to sustain them in the performance of their labours. The staff and the scrip precept appears to have wholly escaped your recollection, as does also the reliance for support upon the piety of those to whom the Apostles were to preach. Your idea is that of a very different sort of apostles, and of very different means for their obtaining and securing an influence over the minds of the people. You seem to place very little reliance, if any at all, on that spirit, which we are every where told (from one end of the New Testament to the other) is to be the sole guide, comforter and sustainer of the preachers of the word. You go so far as to say, at the beginning of the second paragraph above quoted, that the "*attainments in learning and piety of the Clergy*" must rise above the ordinary level of other classes of society. You say, "I even think it essential to the continued existence of any

"*religious establishment.*" What, Bishop? Do you think that Christ's promise, to sustain the teachers of his word, was a false promise? You do, indeed, talk about *piety*, as amongst the attainments; but it is only in conjunction with *learning*; and, indeed, the latter is considered by you manifestly as superior in point of importance to the former. You do not think that any religious establishment can exist for any length of time, without these attainments in learning. I believe, that the establishment that you have particularly, in your eye cannot long exist in its present form, let the attainments of the parsons be what they may; but, at any rate, you here give up the great ground of reliance for stability; namely, the essential excellence of the doctrines of Christianity themselves, and the promised spirit of Christ to animate and uphold the teachers of his Word.

Leaving you to reconcile these opinions of yours with the teach-

ing of Christ and his Apostles, let me now come to your two principal positions, before mentioned.

We shall, probably, discover a *motive* for your ascribing the *French Revolution* to the circumstance, that the other classes in France had advanced in knowledge at a greater rate than the parsons had. But, such is your assertion; and now let us see how that assertion agrees with the truth. On whose authority shall we rely here? I do not ask you to rely upon mine; and I think that this honest and impartial public will not ask me to rely upon yours. It will, I presume, be deemed perfectly reasonable to take it for granted, that the *French people themselves* were no bad judges of their own condition, and of the grounds, upon which they proceeded in demanding a *change*, or, if you will have it so, a *Revolution*. I am not going to appeal to the allegations made by the Revolutionists, after they had deposed the King, and scattered the parsons abroad; I am not going

to appeal to any publication that was made after the tithes were abolished; no, nor to any one that was made after the first thought appeared to have been entertained of a suppression of any part of the nobility, or of any branch belonging to either of the orders of the State; I am going to appeal to the representations, made to the States-General by the people, of all classes, upon the first meeting of that body, in those papers, which were called the *Cahiers*, or *Memoriale*.

In these, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the people cried aloud against the oppressions, not of the Royal Family only, but of the *nobles* and the *clergy*. They showed, in innumerable instances, how they were oppressed by these orders; they showed that to live under them was a most horrible slavery; they showed that in an endless number of instances, the clergy were the *lords of manors*, the *grantors of leases*, the demanders of *finer and quit-rents*, and

that they were the rivals of the noblesse in grinding the farmers, the tradesmen, the labourers and the mechanics to the earth. Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG says, that the tyranny, practised by these bodies was insupportable; and he adds, that, when we take a view of this tyranny, it will "scarcely be attempted to be urged, that a Revolution was not absolutely necessary to the welfare of the kingdom." In another part of his book, Mr. YOUNG, who wrote, you will observe, in 1789; that is to say, before the commencement of the Revolution, but after the common people had committed some violences on their oppressors, imputes those violences to the oppressors, and not to the people. "The murder, says he, of a Seigneur, or a Chateau in flames, is recorded in every newspaper; the rank of the person who suffers attracts notice; but where do we find the register of that Seigneur's oppressions of his peasantry, and his exactions

"of feudal services, from those whose children were dying around them for want of bread? "Who has dwelt sufficiently, in explaining all the ramifications of despotism, legal, aristocratical, and ecclesiastical, pervading the whole mass of the people; reaching like a circulating fluid, the most distant capillary tubes of poverty and wretchedness?"

Here, Bishop of London; here, Right Reverend Father in God, we have a much better account of the causes of the French Revolution than that which you have been pleased to give us, in your Charge to the Clergy of your Diocese. You ascribe the Revolution to the clergy of France; that is to say, to the bishops and parsons not having kept far enough in advance of the people with regard to intellectual attainments; but here we have the proof, under the hands and seals of the people themselves, that they had no complaint to make against their clergy, as

the score of a want of learning in the latter; but a great deal of complaint to make against them on the score of a want of justice and mercy; no complaint at all had the French people to make, that their clergy were behind them, as men of learning; but that they were far before all other men except the aristocracy in greediness and insolence and want of feeling. This doctrine of yours is by no means any thing new. It has been held by the whole of your cloth, and by all the supporters of the present system, and by all the enemies of Reform in England, from the very dawn of the French Revolution to this day. None of these have ever, at any period, been willing to allow that the Revolution arose out of the oppressions of the Government, the Aristocracy and the Church. Though it is well known that there was not one single district; not one single division of a province in France, that did not send the most pressing remonstrances against the cruelties

inflicted on the people; though it is notorious, that the complaints against the lords of manors, against the merciless clergy, against the cruelty of the taxing laws, against the abominations of the Game Laws; against the base partialities and crying injustice of the courts called Courts of Justice; though this is as notorious as seat-selling; which we all know to be as notorious as the sun at noon-day; notorious as all this is, still, from the dawn of the French Revolution to the present hour, that grand, that glorious event has been ascribed, by all the parties above-mentioned, aided by our servile and infamous press, to the writings of Voltaire and other men, stigmatised as Philosophers and Infidels; or, in your way of stating it, to the diffusion of knowledge and cultivation of intellect in France, with which the clergy *did not keep pace!* In answer to this, Sir Francis Burdett once very well observed: "*Philosophy, alas! has no such triumph*

“to boast of: the triumph be-
 “longs, exclusively, to *Oppres-*
 “*sion*. It is to the rude hand
 “of the latter, and not to the
 “voice of the former, that we
 “owe that Revolution, which
 “will never cease to move on,
 “until it shall have utterly de-
 “stroyed that by the cruelty and
 “insolence of which it has been
 “put in motion.”

Read that sentence ten times
 over, Bishop. Never mind its
 coming from a Jacobin. Ponder
 on it well, Bishop, and lay aside
 your own miserable theory. Let
 the whole of the Aristocracy and
 the Church think well upon it;
 and it may, possibly, still prevent
 that, which it seems at this mo-
 ment impossible to prevent. I
 quote the Baronet from memory;
 and I am not quite sure as to the
 scene, where he uttered the sen-
 timent; but, let it have been at a
 Tavern Dinner if you will, Bi-
 shop, the words are better worthy
 your attention, and of that of your
 clergy, too, than any thing con-
 tained in any Charge or any Ser-

mon, that you have either uttered
 or heard in the whole course of
 your life.

Your assertion respecting the
 cause of the French Revolution,
 I have, I think, answered, and
 shown to be false; but before I
 proceed to the other assertion, it
 may not be amiss to add, that
 Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG, in speaking
 of the oppressions of the clergy
 in France, has the following pas-
 sage, by no means unworthy of
 your attention. “In regard to
 “the oppressions of the clergy,
 “as to tithes, I must do that body
 “a justice, to which a claim
 “cannot be laid in England.
 “Though the ecclesiastical tenth
 “was levied in France more se-
 “verely than usual in Italy, yet
 “was it never exacted with such
 “*horrid greediness as is at pre-*
 “*sent the disgrace of England.*
 “When taken in kind, no such
 “thing was known in any part of
 “France, where I made enquiries,
 “as a tenth: it was always a
 “twelfth, or a thirteenth, or even
 “a twentieth of the produce.

" And in no part of the kingdom
 " did a new article of culture pay
 " any thing: thus *turnips, cab-*
bages, clover, chicorée, potatoes,
 " &c. &c. paid nothing. In
 " many parts, *meadows were ex-*
empt. Silk - worms nothing.
 " Olives in some places paid—
 " in more they did not. *Cows*
nothing. Lambs from the twelfth
 " to the twenty-first. *Wool no-*
thing.— Such mildness in the
 " levy of this odious tax, is *abso-*
lutely unknown in England."

Bishop, do you not begin to think, that it would have been as well to let the French Revolution alone? The writer whom I am quoting here, was long, and at last died, *Secretary of the Board of Agriculture*; and, so far from being what is now-a-days, impudently called a "*blasphemer*," he was a man remarkable for his religious piety. You see, then, that this French Revolution had a cause; a real and efficient cause, of which you have chosen to say not one word: and now let us proceed to your second asser-

tion, which we shall, I think, find to be, upon the score of falsehood, equal to the former.

It is this: that this country, while the world was involved in confusion around us, "was not only preserved from destruc-
 " tion, but rose to an eminence of
 " glory and power, which it had
 " never attained in former times."

It will be hardly necessary for me to do it, but I may, by-and-by, say a word or two about this glory and power, and about the "*destruction*" that you here manifestly have in view, and which you must necessarily mean to say has been experienced by France. These things reserved for another part of my Letter, let me proceed. You say that this nation was *preserved* by the
 " quantity of *virtue* and *good sense*" that existed in the country; that these were produced by the "*free Constitution of our Government*;" by the "*equal administration of our laws*;" by the principles which regulate the
 " *Seminaries for the education of*

our youth; but *above all*" (this is of the Church upon the minds of the main thing that you rest upon), *the people*. This is the assertion, "above all to the religion administered by a *body of clergy*, to which I beg the public to attend. I shall afterwards have to show, that (to use the elegant expression of Castlereagh) "people ought not to hollow before they are out of the wood." But, allowing; indeed, the thing is notorious; that all change; that all revolution; that all reform; granted that this was prevented, I am about to show that it is false to impute the prevention to the influence of the parsons over the minds of the people.

What does this fairly mean? You are not aware, perhaps, that you and your parsons have two mighty rivals here. The Knights of Waterloo insist that it was they that saved the nation from what you called "destruction." If they did not, I am sure we have paid, and are paying enormous sums of money into wrong hands. The "DEAD WEIGHT," as it is now elegantly termed in the official papers laid before Parliament, amounts to 5,315,692*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*; that is to

As to the *free* Constitution of Government and the *equal* administration of the laws; and the principles of the people at Oxford and Cambridge, I may allude to all these by-and-by; though really after the affair so recently the subject of public interest and discussion, it would hardly seem necessary. It is your last cause of preservation that is most worthy of our attention. Here you assert that the *main* cause of revolution having been prevented here (for that is your meaning); was the influence of the Parsons

say, five millions three hundred and fifteen thousand, six hundred and ninety-two pounds, nine shillings and sevenpence. — There you see ; that is what we pay for the dead weight created by the war, to prevent our destruction. I will say nothing at present, about the six hundred millions of debt, due to 'Change Alley ; and the hundred millions of debt (for it grows out of the same cause), in the shape of poor rates. I will say nothing about these ; but, for the present, refer you solely to the "DEAD WEIGHT ;" and I repeat, that, if we owe our preservation to the *parsons*, this dead weight money would appear to be given for nothing ; and the *parsons* ought to put in their claim to it.

However, you have, another *start rival*, in this claim to the honour of having preserved the nation from "destruction ;" namely, the BANK ! Until 1819 the people had always been taught to look to the army as the defenders and saviours of the nation. I,

indeed, had always contended, that the French had been defeated by paper-money ; and when it was proposed to erect monuments and triumphal arches, I said that they ought to be dedicated to the Bank and the paper-money makers generally ; and that, if possible, the materials should be paper. In 1819, Sir ROBERT PEELE put in the claim of the Bank, in a formal, if not an official manner. The Bank Directors themselves broadly hinted, that it was they who had gained the victory ; that it was they who had preserved the country from "destruction ;" but Sir ROBERT PEELE made the claim in direct terms. He said, on the 18th of May 1819, "As an *Englishman*, he could not "but feel the services rendered "to the country by the Bank. "Through its means the country "was enabled to pass success- "fully through all its difficulties, "to terminate a long and arduous "struggle with glory, and to give "security and independence to "*Europe*."

Thus, then, we have seen, that first the army, and then the Bank claimed the merit of that *preservation* and that glory of which you talk, and the claim to the merit of having effected which you now put in so boldly on behalf of the parsons. How will you settle the account with those two rivals? The army has been paid pretty decently; nor has the Bank gone unpaid. We shall see, by-and-by, perhaps, that the parsons have had a little payment as well as the others; but, before we come to that part of the subject, let us return and stick a little closer to this assertion of yours, which I have declared to be false.

It is true that the parsons, the Bank, and the army, all had a hand in preserving us from "*destruction*;" that is to say, from *Parliamentary Reform*; ~~from~~ to any other sort of "*destruction*," from which we have been preserved, we may defy you to point it out. I agree, then, that the parsons had their full share in those acts, which prevented a change. But I deny, that the change was prevented, by any influence, exercised by any body, over the "*MINDS* of the people." The change was prevented by means very different, indeed from that of influence over the

public mind. If it was effected by the parsons; by their "*learning and piety*;" by their "*writings*;" by the estimation which they bore in the community; if this was the case, will you be so good as to tell us, Bishop, what was the use of a hundred and fifty thousand men in arms, kept on foot in these islands during the war; what was the use of proclamations to suppress writings in favour of the French Revolution; what was the use of prosecutions innumerable of writings in favour of Reform here; what was the use of transporting the leaders of the Scotch Reformers to Botany Bay; and what was the use of new *Treason and Sedition Bills*, of several new laws to ~~cramp~~ the press; and what was the use of a seven years' suspension of the Act of Habeas Corpus, and a Bill of Indemnity to those who had been guilty of violations of the law during the suspensions of that Act? What was the use of all these, Bishop? If those of your cloth; if the parsons by their learning and piety, and by the effect of their writings, and the estimation they were held in by the community; if, by these means, the parsons had such a saving influence over the *minds* of the people, be so good as to tell us, Bishop, why

the Government resorted to all these restraints upon their bodies?

But, was there nothing more? Nothing but the spiritual influence, except the few trifling things that I have just mentioned? Was there no "*Loyal Association*," at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, of which Mr. REEVES, then Chief Justice of Newfoundland, was Chairman, and which Association was entitled, "*against Republicans and Levellers*," and which Association notoriously, openly, and boastingly, employed spies and informers? Was there nothing of this sort, and if there was, with what propriety do you boast, that it was the influence of your parsons over the minds of the people, that effected, what you call preservation from "*destruction*," and which other people call a prevention of Reform?

If the thing; if the mighty good were effected by the influence of your parsons over the minds of the people, whence the necessity of arming loyal associations of Yeomanry, to *keep the disaffected in awe*? Whence the necessity of *barracks* near every populous town in the kingdom; whence the necessity of magazines of arms and ammunition and of troops stationed at convenient distances, through-

out the whole of the interior of the kingdom? Could the immense magazines at WELDON in Northamptonshire be necessary for defence of the country *against the French*? Was there danger that the French Sans Culottes would land at WELDON, at Manchester, at Chelmsford or at Guildford? If your parsons had made all secure by the influence which their "*learning and piety*" had given them over the minds of the people, how came it to be necessary to bring a *German army into the heart of England*; to keep it here till the very close of the war; to give the chief command of districts of England to German Generals, putting English regiments, militia as well as regulars under their command? If the influence over the English mind given to the parsons by their learning and piety; if this were sufficient, why were German troops brought to the town of Ely to superintend the flogging of the English Local Militia-men? If this blessed influence were sufficient for the purpose of leading the people willingly along, why was the nation saddled with the enormous expense of a German army; the half-pay of which, Bishop, now costs this nation, according to the

statement in the account of the "DEAD WEIGHT," one hundred and fourteen thousand, eight hundred and seventy pounds a year?

That the parsons acted their part, I am the last man in the world to deny; but, it was not through the means of an influence over the MIND. From the moment that the war commenced, a very considerable part of them became *very active* indeed; and it did not surprise some persons a little to see them so zealous, in a war against a people, whose principal crime seemed to be the having cast off a religion, or, rather, idolatry, at the head of which was *Anti-Christ*, as those parsons had always told us. However, as I have very lately, in my letter to the *Hampshire Parsons*, fully explained this matter, I shall not go into it again here. It was not with *the word*, but with the *magistrate's power*; the civil power, occasionally aided by the military; the civil power, occasionally assisted by Dragoons, that the parsons were most efficient in effecting what you call our preservation from "DESTRUCTION." To enumerate only a thousandth part of the instances, in which they exercised an influence of this sort,

would require a very large volume. To deny their efficiency in preserving us from "*destruction*" would be impudent indeed, when scarcely a week has passed for the last *thirty years*, without our reading in the newspapers of some Reverend person or other, who has been engaged (either in England or in Ireland) in the coercing of "*sedition libellers*," or in marching at the head of troops to suppress *rioters and rebels*! Two memorable instances occur to me at this moment; two memorable instances of their "*influence*;" but, Father in God, was it an influence over the MIND, which *Parson Hay* exercised at *Manchester*; or that the *Reverend Sir Henry Bate Dudley, Bart.*, exercised, at the head of a detachment of Dragoons, in the Isle of Ely?

Are you tired, Bishop? If you are not, I am; and I now leave the public to judge, whether that which you call a preservation from destruction, and which I call a prevention of reform was effected by an influence over the mind, or by an influence over the body; and whether, as far as the parsons were concerned, that which was effected, was effected by means of their *learning* and *piety*, and by means of the

estimation in which they were held by the community.

Here I should put an end to my letter, having done quite enough to satisfy the ends of justice in this case. But I am not inclined to pass in silence over this preservation from "destruction." You say, that it would be superfluous to speak of the "*disasters*" which the French Revolution produced upon the *Continent*. Bishop, why did you take so wide a sweep? The Continent is an immense tract. Why did not you confine yourself to *France*? That was the country whose Revolution you were talking about; but, for some reason or other, you did not choose to point to the "*disasters*" which France had experienced from that Revolution. That Revolution is over, Father in God: France has got her Bourbon King again upon the throne: France has again got a nobility: France has again got a clergy, at the head of whom is again that Pope which our parsons always told us was Anti-Christ. But now ma me, Bishop, the King of France cannot now shut up people in a Bastille; he cannot now lay on taxes at his pleasure; he cannot now destroy liberty and life when he chooses. There are two Houses of Par-

liament in France, one of which is chosen, not, indeed, by the people at large; but, still, chosen by the people and not by an aristocracy. It is not a sham representation of the people but a real one.

In addition to this "*disastrous*" change, the cruel taxing laws, and the more than hellish game laws, no longer exist except in the minds of a generation that have to thank the virtue of their fathers, who swept them away. Do you know, Bishop, that the cruel laws relative to salt, and the savage laws relative to the game, sent thousands of poor creatures annually to the gallies and the gallows. It is a "*disaster*" indeed, to be freed from these, and to have regular Courts of Justice, regular Judges of Assize; trial by Jury, and a *real* Act of Habeas Corpus, in exchange for those profligate and corrupt Parliaments, and those pillaging and murderous petty tribunals, that rendered the life of man, if he did not belong to the Noblesse or the Clergy, as little safe as the life of a dog or a cat!

Another "*disaster*" which has befallen revolutionized France, is, the more equal distribution of real property; the multiplication of farms and farm-houses, the in-

dependence of the occupiers of the land, their ease and comfort, and the consequent "*destruction*" of innumerable swarms of beggars prowling about in idleness, covered with rags and infested with vermin. But the great "*disaster*" of all, which unhappy France has brought upon herself by her Revolution; by that "*dreadful event*;" by that shock to her "institutions civil and religious:" the great "*disaster*" of all, which she has had and still has to suffer under, and which I have hardly nerves to mention, is, the *abolition of tithes*, and the complete confiscation, sale, and appropriation to *national uses of the whole of the immense property of her Church!*

How she, under the pressure of this, "*disaster*," continues to exist at all is astonishing. The newspapers that we daily receive from France, the travellers that daily arrive from her shores; certain treaties that we have with her, especially about the Slave-Trade, and her mockery at our remonstrances on account of her setting that treaty at defiance: these and other circumstances prove clearly that she is in existence; or, one would be inclined to doubt the fact of her having been able to survive the

tremendous "*disaster*" mentioned in the last paragraph, which I am ready to confess, was brought upon her solely by that "*dreadful event*," from the like of which, you say our parsons *preserved us*.

Courage, then, as the French themselves say; courage, Bishop! We find that that event, though so "*dreadful*," has not absolutely annihilated France. And, now, as we have seen what her "*disasters*" are, we will, if you please, turn to our own happy situation, and see what our "*preservation*" has yielded us. You say, that we have been preserved from "*destruction*." "*Destruction*" means, to put an end to; to kill; to lay waste; to bring to nought; or, rather, it means the state in which the performance of these acts places the performance or thing. Now, to be sure, we are not actually brought to an end. The people of the country are alive in as great numbers as usual, except those that have recently died of starvation in Ireland; or have been hanged there, for (amongst other things) killing or maltreating *tithe-proctors*. The Marquis of Wellesley in his despatches sent home last Spring, traces several of the riotings, fightings and killings, to the hostility between the people and the

tithe-proctors. All the killed on both sides, upon these occasions, and all that have been hanged in consequence of the riots and fights and violences, together with all those that have been starved to death in the same districts, may be fairly said to have been *destroyed*, and this I think you will not be disposed to deny. Those landlords and farmers, in England, who have shot themselves or cut their throats, on account of the loss of their estates or capital (and such are not a few in number) may, with equal fairness, I think, be said to have come to "*destruction*." Those that have been brought to insolvency, and whose families are comfortably lodged in the Workhouse, must, I think, be regarded as being, at least, *half destroyed*.

With these exceptions, we have, I grant you, been preserved from "*destruction*;" but, Bishop, when you say, "the immediate danger is now passed," do you forget, that wheat is selling at four shillings a bushel, and that there are sixty millions of taxes collected every year, besides six millions in poor rates? Can you possibly forget this; and if you do not forget this; and if when you are talking about the

country being preserved from "*destruction*," you mean, its having been preserved from a *great change*, do you imagine, Bishop, that there must not be a *great change*, of some sort or other? Do you imagine that these sixty millions of taxes and six millions of poor rates, and *rents and tithes* into the bargain, and *quit rents and fines*, are all to be paid with wheat at four shillings a bushel; do you mean that no rents are to be paid? And if you mean that rents are to be paid, who do you think is to pay the debt, and the "*dead weight*" and the army and Whitehall, and the tithes? You talk about the influence of the "*writings*" of the parsons. This is an odd word to make use of upon such an occasion; especially as you had said just before that the learning and piety of the parsons had an influence on the minds of the people, "*not only*" "through the medium of their "*pastoral functions*." It is after this that come the words, "but by the effect of their *writings*." That is to say, then, writings other than those which they put forth in their quality of parsons. Other writings than those about religion. And, now, I do remember me that the Right Reverend Father in God, HERBERT MANSER, now Lord Bi-

shop of Peterborough, who ad-
elegantly translated for the use
of the House of Lords, and to
~~farther the ends of justice~~, a most
critical passage in the evidence
of *Barbara Krantz*: I do re-
member me, that this reverend
person did put forth a "*writ-
ing*," vulgarly called a *Pamph-
let*, in the year 1800, entitled
"*FRENCH AGGRESSION*," in which
the reverend person maintained
the justice and necessity of the
war then carrying on against the
people of France. And I do
remember me that that reverend
person, had, in the month of May
1804, a pension settled upon him
of five hundred and odd pounds
a-year, which according to a re-
turn laid before the House of
Commons, he enjoyed in 1808,
and may, for ought I know to
the contrary, enjoy to this day.

This is the sort of writings, I
suppose, that you allude to; and
in this way, the parsons, it must
be confessed, endeavoured at least
to obtain an influence over the
minds of the people, though I
have no scruple to say that *Bate
Dudley* did a thousand times
more in one day at the head of a
detachment of Dragoons than the
whole of the political scribbling
parsons have done for the last
fifty years towards preserving
what you call the "*country*," from
what you call "*destruction*." But,
if their "*writings*" be so
efficacious, let the heroes now
draw forth their pens. Let them
now, if they have influence over
the minds of the people: let them
now persuade the English land-
lords to be content *without rents*,
and the Irish labourers to be
content *without food*. Let them
show us that it is a good state of

things, when the House of Com-
mons is voting money to keep the
Irish from starving, while the Mi-
nisters declare that the distress
of the country arises from an
over-production of food! Let
some new rising and aspiring
HERBERT MARSH convince us
that the danger is past, and that
we have nothing but distant dan-
gers to apprehend, when we have
a debt including "*dead weight*"
and poor rates, of *more than a
thousand millions*, and when the
Ministers declare, that, to reduce
this debt is to make a Revolution.

Be this their task. Let their
sublime, their clerical pens be
employed in this way. Let them
make a draft of this kind upon
those rich mines of knowledge,
those "*seminaries for the educa-
tion of youth*," about which you
make such a bragging. We will
excuse them from that of which
you make a positive demand,
namely, the *keeping so far a-head
of us* in intellectual endowments.
We will be content, as far as re-
lates to their political "*writings*,"
if they will but show us how the
interest of the debt is to be paid,
with wheat at four shillings a
bushel without a cessation of
rents; and if they would add to
the obligation, do, pray, let them
show us, how it can be just, how
it can be reasonable, for tithes to
be paid, for the Church to enjoy
one farthing's worth of property,
while *rents are unpaid*, or while
the interest of the debt is reduced.

If their "*learning*" is to take
a pious turn; if, bidding adieu to
the sports of the field and the re-
creation of places of fashionable
resort, they are bent upon the
care of our souls, we will still
excuse them from surpassing the

Dissenters in learning and piety. We shall be quite content if they will but do as you say, "overcome evil with good;" and treat the "*gainsayer with kindness*," treat him with "*courtesy and friendliness*;" guard the flock themselves; and not leave the business to Attorneys' General, to Vice Societies, and Bridge-street Associations. If they will but use the word, meet those whom they call "*infidels*" with that; triumph over them, or endeavour to do it, by *argument*, and not by the force of the law, we will readily excuse them from attaining that superiority in learning and talent, the necessity of which you so strongly enforce. One thing more, and that is all that we either wish for or ask for at their hands; namely, let them show us how it is consistent with the Christian religion, or with the laws of the land, that many of them should be receiving half-pay as officers of the army or the navy; how they should be receiving this, as a *remuneration for future services*, after they have declared at the altar, that they believe themselves *influenced by the Holy Ghost*, to take upon them the ministration of the Gospel; and after they know that the laws of the Church, into which they have entered, as well as the laws of the land in which they live, *render it impossible for them ever to serve as officers again*.

Thus have I examined your Charge. In giving that charge, you doubtless expected no answer to it. I had a right to give this answer, and in giving it, while I have performed my duty towards the public, I may, perhaps, have bestowed on you the benefit

of a caution, how you, in the delivery of charges to your clergy, meddle with politics again; and particularly with politics relating to the late ruinous war, and the French Revolution.

WM. COBBETT.

MR. COKE.

WE shortly noticed, some days ago, a pamphlet published at Holt in Norfolk, by Mr. E. H. GIBBS, relative to the conduct of Mr. COKE with regard to the *letting of a farm*. A brief statement of the case is necessary, before we submit any remarks to the judgment of our readers.

Mr. GIBBS holds a farm of Mr. COKE, the lease of which expires at Michaelmas 1823. Mr. GIBBS, from considerations not material to the case, wished to quit the farm a year sooner; that is to say, at the Michaelmas just now at hand. As the occupying tenant, he might, if he had chosen to remain, have had, according to the invariable custom, another lease, in preference to any other tenant at the same rent; that is to say, he, Mr. GIBBS, was entitled to what is called the *forfeaking*, or the *refusal*, of the farm, the landlord fixing the rent, of course. It was *worth something*, therefore, to be placed, in this case, in Mr. GIBBS's shoes. It was his business to get something for resigning his right to this preference. He had laid out, during the last 12 or 14 years, a great deal of money in *improving the buildings of the farm*; and he naturally wished to get something, in the way of *remuneration for this*, from the persons into whose

hands he should put the right of preference as tenant, and who would, of course, enjoy the benefit of these improvements.

In July, therefore, Mr. GIBBS looked out for a person to succeed him. His first business was to agree with this person as to the amount of the remuneration; his next was to get this person accepted as a tenant by Mr. COKE. The person who offered himself to Mr. GIBBS was a Mr. MOORE first; and afterwards a Mr. RODWELL offered. Mr. GIBBS asked 500*l.* as a remuneration from his intended successor. Nothing about the bargain between the tenants was to be said to the landlord, until the tenants had come to an agreement. This was an essential preliminary in the negotiation. And, accordingly, when Mr. MOORE entered on the negotiation he promised not to mention the matter to any but certain persons of his own family.

The negotiation between Mr. GIBBS and Mr. MOORE broke off, on the latter declining to give the sum demanded by the former; but, upon the breaking off of the negotiation, MOORE declared, in a very solemn manner, that he had kept his word as to keeping the subject of the negotiation a secret. But, while he was making these promises, at the very time that he was making this declaration, in so solemn a manner, he (this TUTTELL MOORE) had, as Mr. GIBBS states in his pamphlet, actually been with Mr. COKE and obtained a promise of the farm in 1828, without, of course, giving Mr. GIBBS a farthing!

Mr. GIBBS, not suspecting any thing of this sort, proceeded, when

he had broken off with MOORE, to negotiate with another person; and a Mr. RODWELL, a person whom it appears Mr. COKE did not object to as a tenant, agreed to give Mr. GIBBS the 500*l.* The agreement having been made, the parties went to Mr. COKE, in order to obtain his acceptance of Mr. RODWELL as a tenant; when, to their astonishment, they found, that MOORE had been with him, told him of the negotiation under hand, and had actually got a promise to have the farm in 1828.

The breach of promise on the part of MOORE appeared to have been fully explained and clearly proved to Mr. COKE; yet, he adhered to his promise to MOORE, though that promise was obtained in so scandalous a manner; and, though, by adhering to it, 500*l.* were clearly taken unjustly from Mr. GIBBS. It appears from Mr. GIBBS's pamphlet that Mr. COKE says, that MOORE's breach of promise was nothing to him; but, it unfortunately happens, that it is but too manifestly for the interest of Mr. COKE, that the incoming tenant should keep the 500*l.* instead of giving it to the outgoing tenant. Whatever the latter gave to the former would, of course, reduce the means of the coming-in tenant; make him have less capital to lose; and make him have less money to hand over to Mr. COKE.

It is impossible to disguise the real motive here. It is too plain to admit of but this one explanation. The promise made to MOORE was no more binding than would be a bargain to pay so much for goods to one who had stolen them, after you had discovered them to have been stolen, and after you had

discovered the real owner. Will any man say, that such a bargain would be binding in honour? The presumption really is, if we take all the circumstances into view, that MOORE and Mr. COKE made their bargain for the express purpose of keeping from Mr. GIBBS the 500*l*. One of the two things *must* have been. MOORE must have communicated all the circumstances to Mr. COKE; or he did not. If he *did not*, then the promise he obtained was obtained by a fraud on both the parties. If he did, then Mr. COKE took his full part with, in short, joined with MOORE to keep the 500*l*. from his old tenant, that 500*l*. being, let it be borne in mind, intended as a remuneration in part for the great improvements in the buildings that were for ever Mr. COKE's!

Now, can any man doubt of the motive here? Mr. RODWELL was as eligible a tenant as MOORE. Why should Mr. COKE prefer the latter before the former, except that he thereby kept 500*l*. in the pocket of one who was going to be his constant debtor? What other motive could he have? For, it is too much to suppose that he had a taste for a tenant like MOORE! MOORE bad, at any rate, been guilty of a most scandalous breach of his word with Mr. GIBBS. This must have been known to Mr. COKE. Nay, the *proof* of it was produced to him in an *affidavit*. In short, he did know it; and does it happen, that honourable men prefer such parties to others of a totally opposite character?

It has given us great pain to make these remarks; but, having, some months ago, held Mr. COKE

forth to the public as "*the best landlord in England*," we could not, upon seeing Mr. GIBBS's pamphlet, think that we were acting justly towards that public, unless we noticed that which we must deem, at the very least, to have been a most *ungenerous proceeding*. As to MOORE, he would have been beneath our notice. He is unknown to the public. It is not thus with regard to Mr. COKE; though we must say, that, if proof had been wanted, that meanness can be as much at home in the lofty mansion as in the huckster's shed, we have that proof now before us.

SPEECH OF MR. FAWKES,

AT THE MEETING AT YORK, ON THE
22ND AUGUST, CONVENED

"To consider of the most efficient
future means of forwarding the great
cause of Parliamentary Reform."

GENTLEMEN,

BEFORE I enter upon the important business of this day—before I have the honour of submitting to your consideration the great object of your attachment and hopes, you must allow me to apologize to you for the peculiar part I bear in the transaction; you must permit me to enter into some explanation of that conduct which has brought you together—conduct, which many who do not know me may have attributed to arrogance and presumption; while others have unhesitatingly referred it to a deliberate, to a wanton, unnecessary, ill-timed intention on my part to disturb the peace of the county.

When I consider, Gentlemen, the magnitude of the county of York, and call to my recollection

the great and glorious part it acted on a former occasion, I must confess I have been surprised that this great question has not been sooner submitted to your attention; especially when it appears again to have presented itself to the people of this country, as the only means of extrication from the dangers and difficulties with which they are beset and surrounded; when several of the counties have already declared in its favour; and when thousands are converted to a sense of its necessity, who only a very short time ago were decidedly and actively hostile to it. (Hear, hear.)

—Under these circumstances, when I called to mind the earlier years of my public life—when those moments presented themselves to me, during which I advocated this great cause in this place with many of those who are now taken from us—especially with one, whose name ought never to be mentioned when this subject is discussed, but in terms of honour, reverence, and gratitude—the upright, the enlightened, the patriotic, the lamented father of a gentleman and friend now in my eye, who, I am proud to say, inherits all those valuable feelings for which the late Mr. WYVILL was so highly distinguished; when I compared the exertions, feeble though they might be, which I did not hesitate to make at that time, under circumstances far less auspicious, with my present supineness, my indifference to the cause accused me, I felt it deeply, and under that impression I grew restless and impatient; I felt that I should not be doing my duty if I did not make one more effort in its behalf. I made up my mind in consequence, to make one more appeal to my countrymen; to struggle, as well as I could, through that torrent of odium, obloquy, misrepresentation, and personal abuse, into which I was conscious such a determination on my part would inevitably plunge me, again

to invite to this place all, who I presumed still cherished an attachment to the good cause; again to appear among you, and again, in your presence, to unfold the proud and constitutional standard of Parliamentary Reform. These were the grounds, Gentlemen, of my late invitation to you; these were my motives—motives prompted solely by a conviction impressed indelibly on my mind, of the absolute necessity of infusing a larger proportion of popular influence into that assembly, on the proper construction of which the liberties, the lives, and the property of the people of England entirely depend. —(Hear, hear.)

It has been objected to us with an air of confidence and triumph, Why agitate the county at present? Why bring forward this stale subject again? Why pester us afresh with the subject of Parliamentary Reform? a subject which has never been brought forward but to be refuted; one which was at rest, and ought not to have been disturbed. Why attempt to drag it from that obscurity, to which the irrefragable arguments of its opponents have everlastingly consigned it? Where the record of this proud achievement is to be found, I must confess I am totally ignorant. Are we to look for it in the almost unanimous opinions in its favour, of every statesman who has distinguished himself in the service of his country since the æra of the Restoration? Shall we find it in that petition of the Friends of the People, which does now, and has so long lain unanswered, on the table of the House of Commons? or in the Resolutions of the Yorkshire Association, in which nearly four hundred of the leading Gentlemen in the county of York declared their conviction of its necessity; and in which, in a true spirit of prophecy, they predicted the evils which would ensue from its non-adop-

tion; which evils and misery are now staring us fully in the face? Or is it demonstrated in the hostility of the pensioner and the sinecurist, the minister, the placeman, and the boroughmonger? However, if such be the situation of our cause, the sooner its friends release it from its confinement the better. And as I am asked why I choose this peculiar moment to agitate the question; my answer must be found, must be read, and, methinks, in characters sufficiently intelligible, in the alarming, in the unprecedented state of the country; in the acts and language of the last Session of Parliament; in the actual misery in the midst of plenty, of one part of the empire, and the gloomy anticipations of the other; in the starvation of Ireland, and the impending ruin of more than one class in England:—in the expenditure of nearly one billion and a half of the public treasure in twenty-nine years; a million a-week for the same period, and 200,000 for every working-day; a sum so enormous, that the human mind absolutely recoils from the calculation of it:—in a consequent overwhelming debt, the interest of which *cannot be much longer paid*, without the risk of a national convulsion; unless some arrangement be made satisfactory to the public creditor and debtor; an arrangement *which for obvious reasons cannot, which ought not, and which, I trust, never will be made, without a Reform of the Parliament*: (Hear, hear.)—in the master mischief, not so much the influence of the Crown, as the dominant ascendancy of the oligarchy in the House of Commons; the unconstitutional power of the Borough-proprietors;—that predominant influence, to which those who have steadily observed the conduct of Parliament have reasonably and justly attributed the evils the country has endured, is enduring, and is still likely to endure:—in

that curious and important document, which has lately made its appearance—the Report made to the House of Commons by one of its own Committees, respecting so many of its Members as hold places and offices under the Crown; which goes, in a great way, to confirm the Reformers' opinions, and that on the Parliament's own showing, which proves, that one hundred and nine Members of the House receive 209,843 l., exclusive of the *enormous fees of office*, from that purse, of which they are the constitutional guardians; while an analysis of this list shows, that this sum is divided among those who are either directly nominated by Borough proprietors, or closely connected with them: (Hear, hear.)—in that alliance, falsely and impiously called *holy*, which has made the once liberal Britain the ally of despots, and the enemy of the cause of freedom all over the world:—in an undeviating system of coercion, restraint, and severity towards the people, and a marked neglect of their wishes and petitions:—finally, Gentlemen, in a system directed by all that contradiction, vacillation, intolerance, profusion, and corruption, of which we have been of late the helpless and unfortunate witnesses. Gentlemen, these are reasons quite sufficient, I humbly conceive, to justify the step I have taken; but as I have been accused of an ill-timed exertion, I will add one reason more—the present tranquillity of the country—the very season every statesman would prefer, when no enemy presses from without, and there is no apprehension of any disturbance within, to discuss great national reformations, amendments; and changes. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, when nations find themselves in difficulties and dangers, they look, of course, for relief from the collective wisdom of the country. To our energy and

talent, in Parliament assembled, we have been directing our anxious attention for the last six months, and have we not reason to say that we have been most grievously disappointed?—for what has been done for our relief? Comparatively nothing! while doctrines have been broached, cheered, and maintained, directly contravening those fundamental laws, which our forefathers cherished, which they established by their perseverance, and cemented by their blood— which they left as a protection against tyranny and extortion, as their last, their best, and most invaluable legacy. (Hear, hear.) To establish this point it will not be necessary for me to bewilder you or myself in the mazes of antiquarian research: I have no wish or occasion to go back one hour beyond the Revolution—that Revolution which we have all, from our cradle, been taught to consider as glorious and necessary—that Revolution, the centenary of which was celebrated only a few years ago, with all the “pomp, pride, and circumstance” of public rejoicing. What would the authors of that great measure have thought, had they heard the doctrines of the present hour? Would it not have made them start from their seats with indignation and astonishment?

Gentlemen, during the most corrupt periods of the olden time, public liberty had mouth honour at the least. It was reserved for these days to hear Members of that Assembly, peculiarly and emphatically called the Commons' Chamber, declare it as their opinion, not by inuendo, but gravely and deliberately advancing it as the chosen champions of anti-reform, that “it is essential to the perfection of a representative body, that it should not be *identified with, but chosen for the people.*” (Mr. Canning's opinion.) And that it is a *signal merit* in the

British House of Commons that it does not amount to a *direct delegation from the people.* (Hear, hear.)

Now, Gentlemen, I must say, that if you are not prepared to consider all the numerous laws which have been enacted to secure the purity of Parliament, and to render it, as near as it is possible, the reflection of the public mind, as having had their source in ignorance and dotage,—if you are not ready to stand by, and see the Bill of Rights cast into the fire as a bundle of waste paper, it is your duty to denounce such opinions as novel, dangerous, and unconstitutional!

There did once exist an unmutated instrument, called the Act of Settlement, which provided that no placeman should be returnable to the House of Commons (Hear, hear); but what is the modern doctrine, forsooth? Why, that useless places are necessary to maintain the King on his throne, and the constitution in existence. (Hear, hear.) And this assertion is made when the influence of the Crown is ten times greater than it was when Mr. Burke knocked off 70,000*l.* a-year from it at one blow;—it is made at a moment when, though 2,500*l.* a-year could not be spared in the House of Commons, Ministers did not hesitate to take 30,000*l.* from their Sovereign. But are the gentlemen who advocate this doctrine aware of the consequences that flow from it? How can any system be considered as more radically vicious?—how can the necessity of Reform be more solidly established?—for if it be correct, does it not follow that our King, that the King of England cannot sit securely on his throne without the aid of corruption?—that he cannot exercise the high prerogatives with which the Constitution has invested him, without bribing and corrupting the Representatives of his people? (Hear, hear.) Is it not at once admitting, that the Members

of the House of Commons, at least a majority of them, are so lost to all decency and shame, that they would, at the very least, obstruct the conduct of public affairs, if they were not kept to their duty, by the acceptance or expectation of honours and emoluments? (Hear, hear.)

There was a time, it appears, when taxation was considered with unusual horror and dread, for no evils, says the old adage, are certain, in this transitory life, but taxation and death. But, Gentlemen, how differently are we now taught to look at what once we thought a curse? One gravely says, that "to remit taxation would only aggravate distress;" another, that "the proposal to take off taxes is worse than unavailing, that it is delusive, since it goes to controvert the great order of nature;" while a third proclaims that taxation ought to be considered as one of the dispensations of Providence. To a people taxed as we are this is going pretty far in the way of insult and nonsense; however, urge what we may, under the present system, there is no escape from this new providential interference: if we grumble, they call it "an ignorant impatience;" if we lie down in silence and despair, they avow that we are contented.—(A laugh.)

There was a time, Gentlemen, when a standing army was an object of jealousy, and not, as now, considered essential to the preservation of our liberties. There was a time, when knowledge was regarded as the source of power, bringing strength and wealth, and virtue and order, in its train; it was reserved for these days to regard it as a power of evil, not of good—as a nuisance—a counter-acting principle to Government—to be combatted and crushed by means of venality and corruption. (Hear.) It was reserved for these days to hear the Ministers of the Crown declare, with impunity, to

the people, "That if petitioners came to treat the House with contempt, they would make each of them feel that there was power enough in the executive Government to treat them as they deserved." (Hear, hear.) Now I ask, would any man have presumed to hold this language in a House of Commons really chosen by the people? Would such an assembly have borne that the Ministers of the Crown should talk to them of the executive Government punishing each, and even one of the people, for using words which they might choose to consider as contemptuous? (Hear.)

Gentlemen, I have not intended to exaggerate, and I am conscious I have "set down nothing in malice."

"Who's in or out, who guides the State machine,
Nor moves my curiosity or spleen,"

provided I feel that my country is free, safe, and contented. (Hear, hear.)

Scarcely one who hears me but must feel himself insulted, when he is told that the Constitution under which he at present lives is "the envy and admiration of surrounding nations." No one but must have a certain misgiving, that in the novel doctrine to which I have alluded, lurks not some bold and bad design to preserve the forms of freedom, and to rule for the future without responsibility and without control. No one but must sensibly feel, that it is not that admirable plan of civil polity, under which our ancestors intended we should live.

No, no, Gentlemen, the domination under which we are sinking has nothing to do with the genuine principles of the British Constitution. It was created by fraud, perjury, bribery, and corruption. It was the child of the Septennial Bill—it was nursed by Walpole—it attained to giant strength under the Pelhams. It has increased, is

increasing, and if it be not diminished by the means we seek, must render the power of the Oligarchy paramount in that assembly, to interpose in the privileges of which, by interfering in their elections, is still considered by law a heinous crime against the rights and liberties of the Commons of England.

Gentlemen, how those evils upon which I have thus slightly touched, past, present, and in prospect, are to be removed, save through the medium of a Parliamentary Reform, I must own I cannot divine. Ministers and their majorities, swayed by reasons I leave you to guess, appear to have set their face against all financial arrangements, and all future retrenchment. We cannot at present remove Ministers or reform their majorities; the present system, therefore, unless this great change can be effected, must go on, and in that case what has one great portion of the community to look for but the approach of intolerable distress? What has the whole empire to dread less than all the hazards and horrors of some national convulsion?

If I am asked, Gentlemen, what description of Members I seek and expect from Parliamentary Reform, I answer, such as would acknowledge, and ever act upon, the great principles established at the great arrangement to which I have so often alluded; who would consider our Government to be composed of three estates, one checking the other:—First, a King clothed with all the splendour requisite to give dignity to his exalted situation, and armed with every prerogative necessary to conduct the affairs of the country with energy and promptitude; but still strictly limited by the law;—a King with whom, when he mounts the throne, the most sacred of all compacts is made—to whom, with his sceptre, the most important of all trusts is confided—and by whom, when they surrender themselves to his keeping,

it is expected by his subjects that certain conditions shall be performed and respected. Secondly, a House of Lords, a patrician body—a deliberative, and as it were, balancing power between the Crown and the people, to protect the crown against the people, should faction ever prevail—to protect the people against the crown, should timidity or subservency ever sway the votes of their elected Representatives. An Aristocracy, splendid but useful, contented, however, without interfering with the rights of the people, with its own large and peculiar privileges, not claiming as a right what was, and is still considered a crime. Thirdly, a House of Commons chosen according to the principles laid down by Sir E. Coke, which I quoted in my Address,—a House of Commons feelingly sympathizing with the people in the enactment of every law, the grant of every supply, the removal of every grievance, and the correction of every abuse.—(Hear, hear.) Men who would at all times prefer the interest of their country to their own views, or those of their patron; who could not be persuaded that immoderate taxation was a dispensation of Providence, who would neither obey the call, or crouch under the menace of a Minister; who would consider that “the King of England cannot have so perfect, so honourable a security for every thing that makes a King truly great and truly happy, as in the genuine, free, and natural support of an uninfluenced and independent House of Commons.”—(Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, on quitting this part of the subject, allow me to caution you in the manly and glowing language of the noble author of ‘The patriot King!’

“If liberty be the delicious and wholesome fruit upon which you are anxious to feed, the British Constitution is the tree which

"has borne this fruit; and which will continue to bear it upon certain conditions. It will furnish you with this aliment—if you on your parts will fence it in; and trench it round, against the beasts of the field and the insects of the earth; the former, the beasts of the field, are the open and avowed advocates of Prerogative; the latter, like other insects sprung from dirt, and the vilest of the animal kind, are the nibbling and poisonous agents of corruption and dependency."—(Hear, hear.)

It is not my intention to offer, in your presence, any arguments in answer to the objections which have been raised to Parliamentary Reform—for what would it be? a waste of words as respects myself, and towards you an insult to your conviction.

Of virtual representation—of the dangers incident to the change and reform we propose—of the apprehensions entertained of a more popular assembly—of the worthless argument "let well alone"—of the most dangerous position, that it is necessary that the King's servants should command a majority in the House of Commons—of vested rights and rotten boroughs—of decayed trees, crumbling walls, and venerable pigsties—it may be my lot to speak on some future occasion.—Should any such opportunity occur, before those who are satisfied with such absurd and dangerous anomalies I shall throw down my gauntlet, without reserve and without apprehension.

Gentlemen,—I have now endeavoured to explain to you the reasons which induced me to call you together: it is for you to decide whether you consider me justified in the step I have taken.—(Hear, hear.)—As far as regards my own feelings, I am confident I shall never regret it, for I have done what I conceived to be my duty. In these dark and perilous moments,

I have given every one an opportunity of coming forward who has any faith in the operation of Parliamentary Reform; and I have exonerated myself from the charge, whether made internally or externally, of indifference to that cause, which I have supported during the whole of my public life with sincerity.

In taking my leave of you for the present, allow me to indulge an anxious hope that it is to the agent, and not to the cause, that so much indifference has been shown. That its adoption may not be delayed till that moment, when those who turn a deaf ear to us will be "feelingly persuaded," that prevention is at all times easier than cure, till that moment of ruin, despair, and convulsion, when all precaution will be useless, and all human wisdom and public virtue of no avail!

THE MARKETS.

It is my intention to insert, in the Register, every week, an account of the London Markets, as far as relates to *Corn, Meat, Cheese, and Butter*. I may, sometimes, notice, under this head, prices in the country. But, I shall regularly give an account of the prices of *Corn in England*, according to the *Gazette*; the prices at *Mark Lane* on the preceding Monday; the prices of *Meat at Smithfield*; the prices by the dead carcass at *Newgate Market*; and the prices of *Bacon, Butter and Cheese*, in the City. I have been induced to do this, first, to comply with the request of several of my Readers in the country; and, second, that we may have on record facts now

become of so much importance in a political point of view; facts, indeed, upon which all the principal measures of the Parliament, when it shall again assemble, must unavoidably turn.

CORN IN ENGLAND.

AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN,
For the Week ended August 31, being
the THIRD of the SIX succeeding
August 15.

Per Quarter:

	s.	d.
Wheat.....	38	9
Rye.....	19	11
Barley.....	19	8
Oats.....	17	4
Beans.....	23	9
Pease.....	24	5

MARK LANE.

Average per Quarter.

	s.	d.
Wheat.....	39	7
Barley.....	19	4
Oats.....	18	8
Rye.....	17	9
Beans.....	23	6
Pease.....	25	2

SMITHFIELD (alive.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	8	to	3 4
Mutton.....	2	8	—	3 0
Veal.....	4	0	—	5 0
Pork.....	2	6	—	3 4
Lamb.....	3	0	—	3 4

NEWGATE (dead.)

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	0	to	2 10
Mutton.....	2	0	—	2 6
Veal.....	3	0	—	4 4
Pork.....	2	4	—	3 8
Lamb.....	2	8	—	3 4

BACON, BUTTER AND CHEESE.

Per Hundred Weight.

BACON—30s. to 32s. for the best, small sized.—25s. to 28s. for middling and heavy.

BUTTER—first Waterford 74s. to 75s.—Carlton, 80s.—Dorset, 42s. to 44s. per firkin of 56lbs.

CHEESE—Cheshire, 60s. to 74s.—Old Derby, 52s. to 66s.—New Derby (pale) 42s. to 44s.; (coloured) 44s. to 48s.—New Double Gloucester, 46s. to 48s.; Single (the best) 44s. to 46s.; Middling, 35s. to 40s.

MEAT IN THE COUNTRY.

Bristol, Sept. 5.—Beef from 3½d. to 4½d.; Mutton 3d. to 3½d.; and Pork 3d. to 3½d. per lb. sinking offal.—**Malton, Sept. 7.**—Meat in the shambles:—Beef 3½d. to 4d.; Mutton 3½d. to 4d.; Lamb 3d. to 4d.; and Veal 5d. to 6½d. per lb. Fresh Butter 9d. to 1½d. per lb.; Stiff ditto, 37s. per firkin.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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Published every Saturday Morning, at Six o'Clock.

TO

SIR THOMAS BARING.

On the Resolution, relative to Labourers' Wages, issued by him, by two "Squires," and by five Parsons, from the Grand Jury Chamber at Winchester, on the 31st August 1832.

Kensington, 17 Sept. 1832.

SIR,

I HAVE before me the order, or rather, manifesto, put forth by you, by other two men called 'Squires,' and by five parsons, at Winchester, and dated on the 31st of last month. Before I proceed to remark upon this document, which will certainly become a very remarkable and memorable thing, I will insert it that the public may see what it is; but, before I do that, let me observe, that I see

clearly the state in which the thing is; that I see, that, unless rents can be got out of deductions from labour, there can be no rents; that I see, that, if there be no rents, there cannot long be any tithes; and that I see, that both of these must go, and that the landholders' interests must go, unless, which I know to be impossible, the means of paying rent and tithes can be made to come out of deductions from the wages of labour.

This publication of yours is certainly something perfectly new. I am not aware of any law that calls upon magistrates to put forth such publications. I am not aware of any law that authorizes magistrates, in this their public capacity and sitting upon their bench, to put forth even recommendations relative to the wages which la-

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bourers are to receive. This is a declaration put forth by you and the other magistrates present. It is a species of manifesto, being a public protestation on the subject of the wages of labour. However, let us see it first, and then make our remarks upon it.

New Regulation of Allowance to the Poor.

At a Meeting of the Magistrates acting in and for the Division of Fawley, in the county of Southampton, at their Petty Sessions, held at the Grand Jury Chamber, Winchester, the 31st day of August 1822:

Present — The Rev. Edmund Poulter (Chairman), the Hon. and Rev. Augustus George Legge, Sir Thomas Baring, Bart. the Rev. William Hill Newbolt, D. D. William Nevill and Geo. Lovell, Esqrs. the Rev. F. W. Swanton, and the Rev. Robert Wright, eight of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace;

And a large and respectable number of the Yeomanry residing within the division, who were requested by the Magistrates to attend on this occasion.

The Magistrates having taken into their consideration the allowances usually made by this Bench to Paupers applying for relief, and the diminished price of every article of life, resolved unanimously,

That in future the Magistrates, acting at this Bench, in making their orders, either collectively or individually, for the maintenance and relief of such Paupers, will

not exceed the following allowances:

When the family shall consist of a man and his wife, with one or two children; or a man with two or three children; or a woman with two or three children—To each of them the price of a gallon loaf, of the best wheaten bread, and 4d. each over per week.

When the family shall consist of a man and his wife, with three or four children; or a man with four or five children; or a woman with four or five children—To each of them the price of a gallon loaf, of the best wheaten bread, and 3d. each over per week.

When the family shall consist of a man and his wife, with five or more children; or a man with six or more children; or a woman with six or more children—To each of them the price of a gallon loaf, of the best wheaten bread, and 2d. each over per week.

And whereas a practice has been prevalent amongst the labouring classes to absent themselves during a part of the year when their services are most required, and to return after the harvest, and become a burthen to their respective parishes, the Justices recommend to the officers of every parish, when the family shall consist of a man and his wife, or a man with one child, to offer to each such man, 4s. per week from Michaelmas to Lady Day, and 5s. per week from Lady Day to Michaelmas, so that he might be engaged to serve the whole year; and any man refusing that offer shall not be entitled to any relief. If no such offer be made, or no sufficient employment can be found whereby any such man can maintain himself and his wife or child, the allowance is to be 3s. 6d. per week, and no more.

To every unmarried man, the Justices recommend the officers of

every parish to offer 3s per week from Michaelmas to Lady Day, and 4s per week from Lady Day to Michaelmas, so that he may be engaged to serve the whole year; and any unmarried man refusing that offer shall not be entitled to any relief. If no such offer be made, or no sufficient employment can be found, whereby any such unmarried man can maintain himself, he shall be allowed 2s. 6d. per week, and no more.

To a woman with one child, 3s. 6d. per week, and no more.

To every single woman, the sum of 2s. 6d. per week, and no more.

And the Justices do declare, That all paupers maintained and relieved by their parishes, and able to work, shall, for the allowances so to be made to them, be *compelled to perform such proper work* as the parish officers, shall direct or require of them; and it is earnestly recommended to the parish officers to provide as far as possible employment for all such paupers; and if they neglect or refuse to perform the work found for them, they will be punished as the law directs.

Ordered that the foregoing resolutions be inserted in the Hampshire County Newspaper.

T. WOODHAM,

Clerk to the Magistrates.

This is a document of very great importance to the country. The persons who have authorised the publication of it must, doubtless, be persons of singular merit, seeing the posts which they fill, and the large incomes that the most of them derive from those posts.

WILLIAM REVELL and GEORGE LOVELL, who are simply "*Acquaintances*," the world does not know so much about, how well known they may be known in Hampshire. The rest are persons of great weight to this community; I mean yourself and the five parsons, whom I shall take one by one.

You are the owner of an immense estate, which was the Duke of Bedford's. Your Father was, not a great many years ago, a trader in the city of London under the name of FRANCIS BARING, who became a great maker of loans to the Government. Your brother ALEXANDER has the estate near you, which belonged to Lord Northampton; and some of your family have lately bought the immense estate that was Lord Pezear's in Suffolk. Of the connexion with BINGHAM of Philadelphia I shall not speak at present, though that family was great in its way, too. You have two brothers in the House of Commons, besides yourself; you being

one of the Members for the Borough of High Wycombe. Near pedigree, as I find it in the Rapenotage, traces you back all the way up to a Dutch descent; but what is greater than all these claims to distinction, I find your name enrolled in the Bible Society, in that for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge; and, to crown the whole, in the Loyal Bridge Street Association for opposing the progress of disloyal and seditious principles, where I find you down for a subscription of ten pounds ten shillings; which you will observe is rather more than *one year's wages*, allowed by this manifesto to a labouring man; those wages being no more than nine pounds two shillings.

The Rev. EDMUND POULTER, who was the Chairman upon this occasion, is a Prebendary of Winchester, and is Rector of the parishes of Meon Stoke and Sober-ton. He has one son who is Rector of Buriton and Petersfield and also Rector of Burstow. Another son he has who is Vicar

of Alton, and who has besides, the livings of Holybourne, Bin-stead and Kingsley. I will just add that this Chairman married a sister of the late Bishop of Winchester's wife.

The Hon. and Rev. AUGUSTUS LEECH, is, to begin with, Rector of Wonston, next he is Arch-deacon of Winchester, and next he is a Prebendary of Winchester. He has a brother who is Bishop of Oxford; another brother a Commissioner of the Navy; another an Admiral; and his nephew is the Earl of Dartmouth.

The Rev. WILLIAM HILL NEW-SOLT is a Canon of Winchester, is Rector of Morestead, Rector of Mottistoun and Shorwell, Vicar of Collingbourne and Vicar of Kingston.

The Rev. F. W. SWARTON has the Living of Hillington in Norfolk.

The Rev. ROBERT WRIGHT is Rector of Ilchen Abbots and Rector of Ovington.

Thus these *five* Reverend par-

sons have, amongst them, one Archdeaconry, two Prebends, one Canonship, four Rectories, two Vicarages, and three other Livings; besides what things are in possession of their relations. This is all that I get at from the books that I have in my possession. Persons possessed of better sources of information would, doubtless, be able to discover still further reasons for supposing, that these must be men of great and rare merit.

Having now brought my readers acquainted with the parties, from under whose authority this document came forth, I shall now proceed to remark upon the document itself. It has been published, and published, too, by order of you and the rest of these magistrates. It is said to contain your unanimous resolution. The only reasons, on which the rates of wages and allowance is founded, is to be found (if it can be called a reason at all), in the following vague words, "The Magistrates having taken into

their consideration the diminished price of every article of life."

Diminished price! Diminished means lessened, or lowered; and, certainly, the price is less than it was a few years back, and even less than it was last year. But it is not less than it was in the year 1790; but it is, in fact, a great deal more; for there is the additional duty on malt, salt, soap, candles, leather and a great many other things. It is clear that the labouring man's wages ought, therefore, to be greater now than they were in the year 1790.

Although I have so lately (in my Letter to Mr. Fawkes,) quoted the evidence which Mr. ELLMAN gave before the Agricultural Committee of 1821, I must quote that evidence again here. Mr. Ellman, in the first place, told the Committee: "When I began business as a farmer, forty-five years ago, there was not a labouring man in the parish who did not brew his own beer, and enjoy it by his own fire-side.

"Now, there is not one of them that does it." Here was matter for a Legislative Assembly to reflect on. Here was a proof of the change that had taken place, during those thirty years that our rulers had been bragging of prosperity.

And now let us look at the cause of this melancholy change. For many years previous to the year 1790, wheat had been on an average, at about *four shillings and threepence a bushel*; and Mr. Ellman's evidence tells us, that the common daily wages (exclusive of hay-time and harvest) had been *one shilling and sixpence*; that is to say, *nine shillings a-week*. So that the day-labouring man earned two bushels of best wheat a-week, and rather more. He was not so well off then, as he had been in the time of Mr. Tull; for it appears, from Mr. Tull's book, that the daily pay of the labourer was *one shilling*, when the price of seed-wheat was *three shillings a bushel, nine gallon measure*; so that, the

week's wages then gave eighteen gallons of the best wheat; while the week's wages in 1790 gave only, about sixteen gallons and a half; and, besides, the labouring man of 1790 had to pay on his malt, his salt, his leather, and various other things, more than twice as much tax as the labouring man of Mr. Tull's time had to pay. Accordingly, the poor rates in the year 1790 were two millions and a half in place of being about three quarters of a million as they had been in the time of Mr. Tull.

Great inroads upon the labourer had, therefore, been made by the hellish paper-money, by the ruinous and cruel system of loans and paper-money, even in the year 1790. But, then, the labouring man got nine shillings a-week, or the price of about sixteen gallons and a half of wheat. Since the year 1790, the tax upon malt has been doubled; the tax upon leather has been doubled; the tax upon tea, sugar, soap, has been greatly augmented. There-

fore, the wages of the labouring man ought to be *greater* now than they were in the year 1790. In order to enable him to meet the additional taxation, he ought now to receive about ten shillings a-week, exclusive of hay-time and harvest. Wheat and meat are at about the same price now that they were in 1790; but, as the labourers say, "*every thing else is dear*," and, to be sure, they must be dear while they are all highly taxed, and while taxes have to be paid on all those articles, consumed by the persons who supply the labourers with those things which they significantly call *every thing else*.

What do you mean, then, by the *diminished* price of *every article* of life? There is little or no diminution in the price of any article that they use, except wheat and meat. And you will observe, here, that they do not eat *wheat*: they eat *flour*; and flour does not fall with the price of wheat; because the manufacturers of the flour have to pay the same taxes

when wheat is cheap as they have to pay when it is dear. The diminution that has taken place is only in comparison with the price of *late years*. The comparison that we ought to have in our eye, is that which is afforded by the prices of the year 1790 compared with the present prices. We find then, that the price of meat and of wheat is the same now that it was in the year 1790; but that the price of all other things is greater.

Therefore, as was before noticed, the daily pay of the labourer ought now to be, at least, at the rate of *ten shillings* a-week. And yet, you allot to him *three shillings* a-week for one-half of the year and *four shillings* a-week for the other half of the year; and you decree that if he refuse to labour for such wages, he shall not be entitled to relief! This is to the unmarried man. This is to the man who must buy his bread of a baker. The four shillings a-week will buy him about twenty-eight pounds of bread. But he

is to pay for lodging, for washing the ~~and for shoes out of his~~ four shillings a week. Is it possible for him to do this, under two shillings and sixpence a week? I ask ~~is it possible for him to do this?~~ Here is nothing for drink. Here is nothing but the bare lodging and washing and clothes. It will take two and sixpence a week to ~~keep his skin and to prevent him from walking barefooted, and to procure him shelter in the night in the most miserable hovel in Eng-~~

~~land.~~ He has left, then, eighteen-pence to provide him with ~~clothes;~~ and these eighteen-pence will not buy him a pound and a half of bread a-day, which is the gaol allowance to felons; and upon this he is to subsist.

WHILE HE IS REAPING AND MOWING! Good God Almighty! That God who says ~~that even the ox shall not be muzzled as he treads out the corn!~~

And, while you are issuing this declaration, Mr. CANNING is telling his hearers at Liverpool, that

the "markets are glutted, that the people are feeding in comfort and affluence; that the labourers have steady employment; that their wages are something reduced, certainly, but that still they have *more than sufficient* to procure the necessities of life." You have told him what this more than sufficient is; and, lest he should not see it under your own hands, I have sent to him one of the precious newspapers in which your declaration was, by yourselves, ordered to be published.

This very day I have sent him the *Hampshire Chronicle* containing the declaration; and along with it, I have sent him a Norwich newspaper containing an account of farming stock advertised for sale. The letter, which I enclosed to him with these papers may be worth your perusal; and, therefore, I insert it here.

Kensington, 17 Sept. 1822.

SIR,

HAVING read in the newspapers, that you, at a Dinner at Liverpool, spoke of the distress of the landlords and farmers as a thing that

would find a remedy in the *patience* of the suffering parties; and, having read, in the same newspapers, that you, on the same occasion, spoke of the "*comfort and affluence*," now enjoyed by the humbler classes; I take the liberty to enclose you two newspapers, the *Norwich Gazette* of the 14th, and the *Hampshire Chronicle* of the 9th, of this month. The one hundred and six advertisements in the former, for the public sale of farming stock, may enable you to judge whether patience much short of that of Job would be sufficient for the present emergency; and the Resolution, in the latter, of Sir Thomas Baring and others, may serve to give you something like a correct view of that comfort and affluence, which the humbler classes are now to have the happiness to enjoy. One observation on this Resolution I must add: the whole of the wages, which it allots to an *able labourer*, amount to 3s. 6d. a-week, taking the year round; while a *private foot soldier* receives 7s. 7d. a-week, besides clothing, lodging, fire and candle.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

I should notice here that this was only one of the advertising papers for Norfolk. In another, called

the *Norwich Mercury*, of the same date as the former, there are 121 advertisements of farming stock for public sale, the greater part of them not the same advertisements as the former. When I said 106 in the former, I should have said 115. As nearly as I can ascertain, these two papers announce to us the *breaking up*, or the quitting of business of a hundred and seventy-five farmers of that county and closely on its borders. Well; and is it not time, then, you may say, to reduce the wages of the labourer? Oh! no! There is no room for this. The wages are not the things that want reducing. But this is a matter that I have hereafter to discuss.

Mr. CANNING knows well, that he gives to a day-labourer at Brompton just as much for *one* day as you allow for *six* days; and he knows, that, with the exception of *lodging*, every necessary of life is as cheap at Brompton as in any part of Hampshire. You allow just as much to keep a woman and a child for a *week*, as Mrs.

Cansting pay for a week, bread and
 far one day a week, bread and
 her plenty of good victuals, and
 drink. This, indeed, is "comfort"
 and "affluence;" or, at least, it is
 good living; it is what ought to
 be. But Mr. Cansting knows, by
 this time, what sort of "comfort"
 and "affluence" the labouring
 classes in Hampshire are enjoy-
 ing! You allow 4s. a week for
 the winter months to an able la-
 bourer; a man who is to pitch,
 load, reap, and mow. I give a
 Hampshire labourer a week all the
 year round, together with board,
 washing and lodging. You allow
 the able labourer of 2s. a year,
 without lodging, fuel, candle, or
 any thing else. I give maid ser-
 vants from 10l. to 12l. besides
 their keep; and when Mr. Can-
 ning reads your manifesto, the
 wages that he himself pays will
 occur to him. He has this docu-
 ment, just as it was published by
 your order, now in his possession;
 and, if the Parliament were sit-
 ting, he would soon have before
 him a petition on the subject

that he will have collected for the
 Parliament shall meet.

Let me now ask Mr. Canning
 whether the man is in "affluence"
 who is mowing upon a pound and
 a half of bread a-day. Mr. Can-
 ning is now a Minister of State;
 and it may become him to con-
 sider what may be, nay, what
 must be the effect of attempting
 to make the labourer live upon
 four shillings a-week, which will
 buy him but eight pots of beer,
 and which he ought to have at the
 very least, exclusive of victuals,
 clothing and lodging.

But, if it is impossible to effect
 this with regard to the single man,
 how is the man with a wife and
 child to live upon five shillings a-
 week in summer, and four shil-
 lings a-week in winter? Low as
 prices are at this moment it is not
 sufficient to pay for the grazing in
 summer, or for the yard keep in
 winter, of two lean sows and a
 yearling? The food that the mo-
 ney would purchase, if it were all
 laid out in food, is not sufficient
 to prevent a waste of life. Eco-

bleness of body must come from such living, and the death of the body must be the final consequence. This must be the case if all the money were laid out in food. But, is there to be no house rent; are the poor creatures to have no place to cover them in the night; is there to be no clothing; are there to be no utensils; is there to be no bedding; is there to be no fuel? Great God! Look down upon England at this moment! Is this at last to be the lot of the people of England; and while a Bench of Magistrates are declaring, publicly putting forth, actually proclaiming, their unanimous resolution that this is to be the lot of the people; we hear a man, who is now a Minister of State, making a speech in public, in which he says, that the "times are come round, the markets are glutted, the people are feeding in comfort and affluence!"

It may be said, that the farmers are ruined; that they cannot now pay their way; that I have just given a proof of their being

upon the verge of being totally taken up; and that, therefore, they are unable to pay higher wages than those that you have fixed on. This opens to us quite another view of the question. If there were no other persons to be paid out of the produce of the earth than the labourers, it is clear enough that it would be just for the labourers to take whatever little there was left for them, after the farmer and his family were fed. But this is not the case. Far different, indeed, is the real state of the matter. There is a church that takes away a tenth part of the whole of the farmer's produce. Then there is an army in time of peace that takes away, probably, another tenth part. Then there are placemen, pensioners and sinecure people that take away another large part. Then there is the Debt, contracted for the purpose of carrying on the late wars, that takes away another large part.

Now, Baring, does it not appear reasonable that an attempt

should be made to put a stop to, or to diminish, at least, some of these takings away? Does it not appear reasonable that this attempt should be made before making such a declaration as that which you have put forth? We have different opinions as to these matters; but as you have thought proper to publish your declaration and recommendation, as you have thought proper to publish your recommendation to the farmers, I will publish my recommendation to them, in the following words:

Gentlemen, Farmers of Hampshire, it appears to me that it is impracticable; I say nothing of justice or injustice; but it appears to me that it is wholly impracticable for you to carry on your affairs without giving to the labourers a sufficiency to enable them to work and to keep them in health. I am aware that you cannot do this, and pay rent and yield tithe, and pay, besides, all the taxes that are now levied directly and indirectly upon you.

To suppose a state of things, in which, for any length of time, rents were to go unpaid, is to suppose a community in a state of dissolution. To suppose a state of things, in which the labourers are to be continually in a state of half-starvation, is to suppose constant peril to property and to life. In such a state of things there can be no happiness, because therein there neither security nor peace. The labourer, the suffering, the half-famished, the ragged, the cold, the desperate labourer, will not look after distant causes.

he will look to the farmer only. And if he suffer from hunger, the farmer only will be accused of being the cause of that suffering.

To me, it appears, therefore, that you ought to look in another direction for the lightening of your burdens. The labour is one source of outgoings with you; but you should always bear in mind that it is the cause of all the produce. You should always bear this in mind. When you look at your crop, be the amount

of it what it may; you should re-
 flect, that the labourers have
 created it all; and you should
 not forget, that that Bible, which
 has been distributed so profusely,
 inculcates from the beginning to
 the end of it, the necessity of
 giving to him who produces the
 food, his full share of it. The
 use of the earth is to give suste-
 nance to the people of the world;
 try, but more especially to those
 who cultivate that earth. There-
 fore, the last thing for a farmer to
 grudge is a plentiful living to his
 labourers. If he find himself
 pressed, if he find demands
 upon him greater than the
 amount of his crop, he ought to
 look to all other means of re-
 trenchment before he comes to the
 wages of the labourer; because if
 the labourer be not sufficiently
 fed, he will be miserable; if he
 be miserable he will hate his em-
 ployer; and though that employer
 may seem to prosper for a while
 in spite of the hatred of the la-
 bourer, in the end prosperous he
 will not be: God has said it, and

true it will prove to be to the end
 of time. In your present situation, you
 have many things to look to before
 you resort to a lowering of the
 labourers' wages, so as to make
 him a desperate discontented
 being. To these other things,
 therefore, you ought to look. The
 question is rendered confused by
 our talking so often about money
 payments instead of talking about
 payments in kind. Let me en-
 deavour to put the matter plainly
 before you. When you pay mo-
 ney, let it be to whom it may, you
 do, in fact, give the party a cer-
 tain portion of your crop. If a
 man come to you for eight shil-
 lings of wages, at a time when
 wheat is four shillings a bushel,
 you give him two bushels of your
 wheat. If the parson commutes
 for his tithes, you pay him in
 money; but you do, in fact, give
 him a part of your crop. When
 you get ten bushels of malt, you
 pay to the maltster ten half
 crowns, which he gives to the tax-
 gatherers; but this is only giving a

part of your crop, and it would be just the same thing, when you were to deliver some thing either twenty shillings' worth of barley or of any other sort of grain. Now, then, let us suppose that you distributed your crop to the several parties who have demands upon you, in the course of the year, instead of first selling the crop and then distributing it to those parties in the shape of money. Suppose that you kept one part of it for yourself and family to eat, to drink, to buy clothes with and so forth; that you gave another part to the labourers that raised the crop for you; another part to the landlord; another part to the parson; another to the soldiers; another to the sailors; another to the placemen, pensioners and sinecure people; another to the half-pay people; another to the young gentlemen in the military academies, who are breeding up to be officers; another in the way of gifts to the church parsons over and above the tithes;

another to build the new streets with, and to beautify the buildings belonging to the aristocratic house; another to build bridges and make canals and roads in the Highlands of Scotland; and, at last, a good lumping lot to those that made loans to the Government to carry on the late war.

Let us suppose the crop all threshed out and ready for distribution. You have not got enough for all these parties. They can have no more than there is. They can only have an amongst them. There is less than the whole of their demand. Now, let me ask, if the sacks were there standing before you, and each of the parties had a person there to receive and take away his portion, what would you say, if there not being enough for all the rest without taking part of the labourers' sacks away; what would you say if the officers were to propose to you, to give them their full demand, by taking half the sacks of the labourers away from them? Why, you would

think the proposition a most monstrous one, to be sure. You would say, this is the most necessary portion of all; for, if I take away the sacks of these poor fellows, how can I get another crop? You would say, how can I to live in peace with these people, they are more necessary to me than any body else. Doubtless parsons and armies and navies and ordnance and freemen of Queensborough and bridges and castles in the Highlands of Scotland and gifts of money to the parsons over and above the tithes and places and pensions and sinecures and money paid for national faith; doubtless, all these are very good and proper things; and I should like to have them well enough; but I must have the labourers; I cannot rob their sacks; they must have their share, or I can neither have another crop nor live in safety.

You would then begin to inquire, whether some of the other things might not be done without, or, at any rate, whether a dimi-

nution in the quantity of the crop remained for each of them might not take place. You would probably commence your inquiries with the parson. You would, with me, be ready to agree, I dare say, that it is a very good thing to support religion, but you might be apt to think, that the Rev. Edmund Poulter, for instance, who, being a Prebendary of Winchester, is likely to accept a curate at Moon Stoke; and that (saying that there is a falling sheet), it might be well enough for the parish of Moon Stoke to pay tithes to the amount of the curate's wages, and no more. You might think that the Hon. and Rev. Augustus Leeson, who is an Archdeacon and a Prebendary, might give up to the parish of Winstow all the tithes, except to the amount of what he pays his curate. The Rev. WILLIAM HALL NEWBOLT, being a Canon of Winchester, might give up all the tithes of Morestead, Mottistow, Shorwell, Collingbourn and Kingston, except enough to pay the curates

that officiate in these places. The Rev. F. W. Swarton, who resides at Winchester and is a magistrate of Hampshire, might give up all his tithes of Hillington in Norfolk, except enough to pay the Curate who must be there; and who can doubt the willingness of the Rev. Thomas Wright to give up the tithes of one of his rectories, at least?

This would make a wonderful difference. Let me not be told that this is an irreligious proposition; because, you see, religion would have just as much to support it then, as it has now. Mr. Newbolt, for instance, cannot, living at Winchester, and attending to his Canonship there, attend also to the five parishes before mentioned. If you were to ask Mr. Newbolt how his parishes are attended to; he would answer, *as well as any in the kingdom*. I am not disposed to contradict him; but on the contrary, to agree with him, and to say, that since they are so perfectly well attended to for the small sums which the

Curates receive, those sums are all that are necessary, for the support of religion in these parishes. If Mr. Newbolt were to rejoin and say; aye, but I want the rest; the question then would come, can you have the rest without starving the labourers?

We might go on thus through the whole list of the parishes; and if it came to rates of pay, we might surely ask, whether it was reasonable to take out of the labourers' sack, till he was reduced down to three shillings a-week in winter and four in summer, while there was left in the common foot soldiers' sack enough to give him seven and sevenpence a week all the year round? If they talked to us about the wages being in proportion to the price of corn, we should have this observation to make to them: corn in the year 1790 was much about the price that it is now; the soldiers' pay at that time, was *three and sixpence a week*, it is now *seven and sevenpence*, having in both cases, clothing and lodging, fire and candle.

In the year 1790 the salaries of the Judges (except the Chief's) were fifteen hundred pounds a-year each; they are now three thousand. We could go on in this way to an enormous extent. We could show how all has been doubled or more than doubled; and that the reduction, whenever it has been made, has been only a tenth! Now, if the labourers' wages are to be what the magistrates at Winchester have recommended; if they are to be not so much as one-half what they were in the year 1790, why are not the wages of all persons, which are paid partly out of the sweat of those labourers' brows, to be lowered in the same proportion? Why is a Secretary to the Board of Ordnance to have sixteen hundred and ninety-five pounds a-year now, when he had only five-hundred and ten in 1792?

Thus you see, Gentlemen, you would proceed in your enquiry. You would find out that in the year 1790, we had twenty thousand seamen and marines, and

that the navy then cost less than two millions and a half a-year; that we have now just the same number of seamen and marines; but that these cost more than six millions and a quarter a-year!

Having discovered this, you would take some time to consider before you emptied out the labourers' sacks in order to fill up the sacks of the other parties. You would enquire how it could happen that the navy now cost almost three times as much as that of the year 1790; and I think that you would begin to discover, that, in order to have something left for yourselves you must deduct from the other parties and not from the labourers.

I shall come to the Loan Jobbers presently; but, first let me notice the gifts of money to the Church Parsons, exclusive of all the tithes and all the rents, of lands and houses, that they receive. Many of you do not know; but it is very fit you all should know, that the Parliament has voted, and you and your labourers have help-

of pay, fourteek or fifteen hundred pounds! In this whole world was charity like this ever heard of before! Dear in mind, such a considerable portion of this sum of money came out of the taxes paid by the labourers.

Now, it is too late to talk about giving this money to the parsons; but, it is by no means too late to get it back; and I trust myself, that we shall yet see the day, when, by means of proper and lawful application, the clergy of this immensely rich Church will be induced, either voluntarily or by law, to pay out of their incomes, back into the National Treasury, a sum equal to that which was given in this manner, and the particulars of which are very clearly stated in the accounts laid before Parliament. If I were a Member of Parliament, not one week should pass over my head before a law to this effect should be proposed. But you can apply for it now; and much more rational it would be than to attempt to screw your labourers down into a state of half-starvation

But, why do I talk thus to farmers? You know, that with such pay, you could trust no man with your horses, your cattle, your sheep, or in your barns or yards. You know well the desperate disposition which instant hunger would not fail to create; you know, in short, that for each of you to live amidst a score of labourers hating and detesting you, would make you detest your homes, and flee from them, as you would flee from fire or the plague.

To the other parties, then, you must go. You must make them go off with unfilled sacks. I do not mean that you are to do this by force of arms; but by force of *petition* and *remonstrance*. I recommend nothing that is not lawful. I recommend you to petition, in County Meeting if they will let you; and if they will not, in Hundreds or in Parishes. The plan pursued by Messrs. WICKHAM and TWYNHAM, with regard to the *County Rates*, is a very good one. That petition did not

come before the Parliament, where there would have been opportunity for debate. A petition from you, setting forth the state in which you are, the wages that you have been recommended to give, the reasonableness of the Church paying back the immense sum of money before mentioned; the reasonableness of lowering the amount of tithes to a sufficient for paying the officiating ministers; of bringing back the pay of all persons in public employ to the standard of 1790; and, above all things, the justice of reducing the payments to the loan people, in such a manner as to prevent them from receiving three bushels of wheat in place of one; a petition from you, having these objects, and signed by the greater part of you, would not only do you great honour, but would have and must have great effect in procuring you immediate relief.

There is one thing more, which I have to recommend to you; and particularly to you that are *renters*. You have seen how

prices have gone on declining. It would almost seem to be madness; but the facts, that there are many farmers, even now, who think that things will come about, as they call it. I recommend to you, especially to you who have wives and families, to dismiss this delusion from your minds. If they continue to pay in gold; if the law remain as it now is, FOR PRICES TO RISE IS IMPOSSIBLE. I beg you to bear this in mind, and to be certain that complete ruin must fall upon the man who places his hope upon a rise of prices. It is much more likely, that good wheat should fall to *three shillings* a bushel than that it should ever again rise to *seven*. Circumstances may happen, and I think it probable that they will happen, to bring wheat down to three shillings a bushel; but nothing short of almost a complete failure of crop can again raise it to seven shillings a bushel.

Some men imagine that war would raise the price of corn.

War never raised it. It was the paper-money that raised it. The nation cannot again go to war, as long as the Debt lasts at its present amount; for it must again launch forth on the sea of paper-money, and on that sea the whole would go to rack. Let me conjure you, therefore, you especially who have wives and families, to say, in all your calculations, that wheat has to fall yet further, without the smallest chance of ever being again at a price exceeding that of from three to six shillings a bushel. This being the case, what man who is not mad would take a farm with the present taxes and rates to pay? Nine-tenths of the farms are worth no rent at all. It is impossible that they should yield rent under the present circumstances, even though the labourers were ground down to half starvation.

It is possible, and barely possible, that the present Parliament may take some efficient measures when they meet. To give you my opinion about that, at this

there, would be to acceptantly; and I have, as yet, heard nothing of the intentions of any body having the power to act. A great deal will depend upon the conduct of the yeomanry themselves, and, perhaps, those of them who have the greatest influence and the greatest degree of intelligence will be disposed to cut and run rather than to give themselves the trouble and take upon themselves the risk attending a struggle. The Parliament must, however, do something; and it is possible, that it may pursue the right course. God knows it has had enough said to it by me to make it do what that course is. In this state of uncertainty, my advice to every man is, get rid of your farm if you can; if you pay rent for it, and take no farm, amount to, with the present taxes; and last of all, as long as you have labourers, let them be sufficiently paid for their labour; or not grow bread-corn; but the country is starving now.

There, BAKING: that is my re-

commendation; and I have very great satisfaction in believing that it will have full as much weight as yours, and that of the two "Squires" and the five parsons I am obliged to you; however, for issuing this declaration. In my letter to Mr. FARRER, I observed that a struggle was at hand; that an attempt would be made to bring down the wages of the labourer to a bare sufficiency to sustain a sort of gradually perishing frame; to just enough to prevent actual dying at the end of a few weeks or months. I am glad that the declaration came forth, too, so soon after Mr. CAMMIS's description of the "comfort and affluence" in which the labouring classes were living. The declaration came out right early. Time enough to make us look about us before the winter comes on. I have, I trust, turned it to good account; and if I have not, it has not been for want of inclination.

WM. COBBETT.

THE CABINET.

From the "STATESMAN" of
Monday.

THE affairs of this quintessence of the *Collective Wisdom* appear to be settled, for the present, as far as relates to the filling up of the post of the hero of *North Cray*, who, we are now positively told by DANIEL STEWART, Esquire, of the *Courier* newspaper, and of *Eclair-memory*, is to be succeeded by the *Liverpool Operator*. This was announced to us in that paper of Saturday, in the following words, well worthy of public attention:

"Every thing was finally determined yesterday, and that Mr. CANNING has accepted the Seals of the Foreign Office. We believe, too, we can state that Mr. CANNING went to the India-house yesterday afternoon, upon the arrangements being completed, to communicate the fact personally to the Directors. We further understand, that a Privy Council will be held on Monday at Carlton Palace, for the purpose of swearing Mr. CANNING into Office. And now, while we congratulate the country, as we do most sincerely, upon the circumstance that it will continue to possess the benefit of Mr. CANNING's powerful talents, let us make one remark upon the evidence we here have, that the vulgar clamour against public men, as being wholly influenced by sordid motives of gain, is as false as it is vulgar. Mr. CANNING exchanges the com-

parative repose and the splendid income of the Governor-Generalship of India, for an office, at home, intensely laborious, and certainly not over, if it be not (as we think it is) under paid. He foregoes the opportunity of securing an ample fortune for his family, because he conscientiously feels it his duty, as a public man, to obey the call of those who deem his services essential, at the present moment, to the interest of the country. Malignity itself will not be brazen enough to insinuate in the face of these facts, that any but the purest and most honourable motives have actuated him in accepting the office of Foreign Secretary. *Ab uno disce omnes.*"

The object which STEWART has in view here, or, rather, the object which the masters of STEWART have in view, is to cause it to be believed, that it is a *sense of duty*; that it is *patriotism*; that is, *love of country*, that has made the Operator accept of this post, instead of that of *Governor-General*. In the first place, what do they mean by *accepting*? Did he not ask for it? Did he not beg and pray for it as barefacedly as ever mumper begged for a bit of bread? Did he not say, that as to "*Catholic Emancipation*," he would make a compromise? And did he not promise Borough-mongers, that he would continue to oppose Reform? "Well," says Stewart, but so much the better, then; for he begged for labour in exchange for repose, and for "*under-pay*" in exchange for a "*splendid for-*

tune." And this proves, that our accusations against "public men," are unjust; for, we accuse them, amongst other things, of being wholly influenced by "*sordid motives of gain*."—Stop a bit here, Daniel. We never do this. We never say, that money is their *only* object. We never dream of any such thing. We know well that *power and titles* make part of their objects. So that here is a falsehood.—But, now for the *labour, repose, under-pay, and splendour* of the office of Foreign Affairs? The King assures us, twice a-year, that he continues to receive the strongest assurances of a *friendly disposition in all foreign powers*. What is there to do, then, in that office? We know, well, that a *crazy fellow, a crack-brained fellow*, was at the head of it before; and yet it *went on vastly well*! The Governor-General may have little to do; but he must have little indeed, if he have so little as the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who has simply to record the accounts that he receives of the proof that England is now *laughed at all over the world*; and that the French and Americans are preparing to give her such a *souse* as shall make the "*Dead Weight*" dance a horn-pipe under her neck

where it hangs dangling.—And, as to the *pay*; as to the *money* part of the concern, who told DANIEL STEWART, that the Governor's post was the best? There are not such *very fine* things in India as there were *formerly*; and if there were, does Daniel recollect, that the Foreign Secretary has about a *hundred Consuls*, and as many more *Ambassadors and diplomatic people*, in his absolute appointment? Does not DANIEL know, that there are now made *births for life*? That, to be in one of those posts is to *qualify for a pension for life*? Can he discover any such things as these in the hands of the Governor-General? Did not CASTLEREAGH make a *good thing* of the Secretaryship? In short, as a *money concern*, this is by far the best.—Besides, though there are riches to be gotten in India, the Operator must *have gone to India to get them*. Ten pounds down, at Whitehall, are worth forty pounds *to be received* in India. To be *at sea for ten months* is no trifling matter. Indiamen sometimes founder and sometimes go upon rocks. Does not Mr. CANNING know this, think you?—But, this is all nonsense. We all knew, that he must have looked on the post in India as a thing given to him to *get him out of the*

way, and accordingly we see how eager he was to remain; how quickly he availed himself of the lucky cut in the throat of CASTLEBROUGH to beg, openly beg, to remain.—So much for the “*pure motives*” of the Liverpool Operator. As to the *Latin* of the Taylor’s Trotter, we agree to it; for it means, as to purity, CANNING is just as good as any of the rest.—As to DANIEL’S “*congratulating the country*” upon the event; why, we join him. We congratulate the country on it. We wanted to have the Operator remain at home, and we wanted to have him as Minister in the House of Commons. He has been a swaggering blade for thirty years; but, he never yet was the responsible man. He never yet was the proposer of measures. He is to be that now! It was sensibly observed by a gentleman the other day, that, until he saw CANNING bidding to stay at home, he always thought that he understood the dangers to the concern; but, that now, he was convinced that he understood nothing at all about them. We, for our parts, never believed, that he understood any thing at all of the matter. We always, ever since we have known him, regarded him as a most superficial man; a mere man of froth. And, if we

come to the proof, we find him a stickler for the *bullion propositions of Saint Horner*; we find him brawling with all his lungs for an unanimous vote in favour of Peel’s Bill; we find him saying that that Bill will set the question at rest for ever; we find him, during the last Session of Parliament, asserting, that the people were opposed to that Bill; and that this was a proof that it was best to have a Parliament that did not speak the voice of the people; and on his stage at Liverpool, we find him saying, that the only remedy for the distress of the farmers and landlords is patience. Here is the proof of his shallowness; of his ignorance of the state of the country’s affairs. What will he do? Does he think, that the landlords will suffer their estates to go clean away quietly? Does he think, that they are to be kept quiet without rents, by pretty prattle about Jacobins and Anti-Jacobins? Does he think, that his “*generalities*” will reconcile them to empty pockets? Does he not see, that the present race of farmers are melting away like fat before the sun? And does he hope, that he, by sprightly talk, shall be able to pacify the landlord, who sees his own complete ruin at hand? Will

her fate this? Will he push on? Will he thrust the thing on till after May next, when the Country Bankers must pay in gold? Or, is he man enough to face the GIBDIRON? One of the two he must face! Let him remember that. And, happy shall we be to have him to face it. The other poor thing that cut his throat was not half so deeply committed as this one is. This is in the mass up to his very ears. He cannot get back; and there we shall see him, stick fast; and then we will set up a shout that shall be as sweet to his ears as was the late shout to the "mummers" at Westminster Abbey.—Then we will call out to him:—"Come, if thou art a man, now make a stand against democratical encroachment! Now make a stand against the low, degraded crew. Now tell us that all the squanderings are vested interests. Now show us that even of prosperity, which seven years ago, you promised us would speedily appear!" If sport there ever were, sport we shall have, during the next winter. Last year was the very first time in our lives that we felt a desire to see the Parliament meet; but our eagerness will be much greater this year. To triumph

over the crozier fellow that cut his throat would have been nothing. He was battered down to the earth as it was. But, now we have a cock that will show us some play. We will ask him whether he do not think that another Sir-Ants might help the concern? Whether another attempt to "extinguish for ever the accursed torch of discord" might not be likely to get some rents for the landlords? Whether he do not think that his old Editor, and brother sincere placeman, WILLIAM GIFFORD, could, if he were called on, find out the means of getting rents paid, without any diminution of "vested interests?" Oh! what a sweet roar will he set up for him by SHAWLEY and STAPPALE! The Recess-Judges are at work to lower the wages of labour! At Winchester they have resolved, that a labouring man shall not have half as much as is paid to a common foot soldier! Here will be a struggle! Here will be that "comfort" that "plenty," of which the Operator talked at Liverpool! Here will be scenes; and the good of it will be, that the "Jacobins" have had nothing to do with the matter, and will have nothing to do with it. The Jacobins seeing what was coming, have taken care of

themselves: and will sit quietly looking on, while the "respectable part of the Press," and "His Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects" settle the thing in their own good time and manner. To say, that the prospect gives us pleasure is faintly to describe what we feel. Nineteen years of obloquy deserves something more, in the way of compensation, than what is usually understood by pleasure. If any man be gifted with enough of imagination to tell what poor BRAYS and his wife and children felt, when they first heard of the affair of *The Bishop and the Soldier*, that man, and that man only, is able to say, what our feelings are at beholding the prospect that is now before us. We know precisely how the thing will work. It is not, in our heads, as it was in that of poor crazy CASTLERAGH, "a general working of events;" we have a clear sight into the whole matter; and have a great mind to write a *Companion to the Almanack*, and to give an account of the progress before the Parliament meet. But enough for the present. One word to the Operator; just one word at his coming into office; **THE GRIDIRON IS MADE!**

Wednesday.

Mr. CANNING is now regularly installed as a *Secretary of State*, and, as such, or as a Member of the Collective, we must not call him Mountebank Doctor and Jack Padding and the like: It is only when he occasionally appears on his stage at Liverpool, and St. Patrick's Dinner, and such like places, that we can make really free with him. Whatever jests he may think proper to utter, either by pen or tongue, fit these his sacred capacities; and especially in the latter, we must treat with a *light hand*; and, we are of opinion, that he never will again give us an opportunity to meet him on the stage at Liverpool. We must now preserve our gravity, when we have his productions under our eye; or, at least, as much gravity as we can muster up. He will not leave room, we think, for us to laugh at his *grammar*; for, as far as that goes, he is a *damned* man. We shall, we dare say, never, while he is a Minister, have to crack our jokes on the *language* of King's Speeches; unless, indeed, jests should break out; and, that is not very likely in these serious times. In the West of England, the girls, when the fellows are

rather forward, do not cry out, "*paws off*;" but, "*be sober*;" which is nearly the same as the remonstrance of the French girls, who, in such emergencies, say, "*soyez sage*," that is to say, "*be wise*," or *serious*, or *sober*. We would beg permission to offer Mr. CANNING (for we must call him *Mr.* when he is off his stage) this same piece of advice, *soyez sage*, Monsieur. Do not run riot with the *landlords*, who are, just at this moment, in no temper to receive sarcastic jests. They will be perfectly *sober*; and, their ill-humour must not be made a subject of laughter by any one who lives on those taxes, which take away their rents. In order that Mr. CANNING may *know a little something* of the extent to which must be carried that "*patience*," which he has recently recommended so strongly to the landlords and farmers; and, in order to give him a correct notion of that "*comfort and affluence*," in which he said the labouring classes were now living; we sent him, yesterday, to his house at Brompton, called Gloucester Lodge, a *Norfolk* and also a *Hampshire* newspaper, accompanied with a note from ourselves, a copy of which note will be found in the next *Register*. The Nor-

folk paper would shew him, that the flapping stock of *one hundred and fifteen farms*, in that county, is *advertised for public sale*; and, the Hampshire paper would shew him, that a Bench of Justices, consisting of, Sir THOMAS BARING, two "*Squires*," and *five parsons*, had recommended *3s. a week in winter*, and *4s. a week in summer*, as the wages of a labouring man! We really believe, that he was wholly ignorant of the state of the country; and we wrote to him, with the above-mentioned enclosures, with the view of letting him see, with his own eyes, a little of what that situation is; and to prepare him for a grand sweep, on the part of the landlords, at those "*vested interests*," of which he was pleased to talk during the last Session of Parliament. There are rumours of Mr. HUSKISSON taking the place of the present CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER. We do not believe this. There are many reasons for our not believing it.—But, *what will Mr. Huskisson do?* Can he, after his speech of 1815, pretend, that *rents can be paid* with wheat at *4s. a bushel*? That speech must be printed again before Parliament meet. He must be asked to reconcile it with his present notions about the capability of things to come about.

He must acknowledge that he was *in error* in 1815, or that his present doctrines *are false*. He has a choice, to be sure; but one of the two he must take. Mr. HUSKISSON'S conduct puzzles us more than that of any other man.—For, *he has sense; he has experience; he has evidently thought a great deal on the subject. We know, that attachment to place and emolument is very strong, and we have seen nothing to make us suppose, that it is not as strong with him as with others. But he must see (unless his mind be wholly changed as to its faculty of reasoning,) that this system must, and that too, before long, be wholly changed; or, that there must be something very little short of a general convulsion. In the Norwich Gazette and the Norwich Mercury, there are a hundred and seventy-five advertisements for the public sale of farming stock! In about forty of these the owners announce that they are quitting business; in a considerable number the sales are expressed to take place under executions, or assignments: and in the other cases, we are left to conclude, that the parties are leaving off farming. Only think of a hundred and seventy odd farms thus actually broken up in*

this one county. In all probability, these farms contain not much less than fifty thousand acres of land; and we would beg Mr. HUSKISSON to observe, that this is not that poor land, of which Mr. RICARDO speaks, as being necessary to be thrown out of cultivation. If a hundred and seventy farms be actually broken up, what must be the situation of the other farms of the county? We are at our wits end to account for the conduct of Mr. HUSKISSON. He has more sense than any of the rest; and can he imagine that this thing can go on in the present way without producing a convulsion? We repeat, that his speech of 1815 must be republished before the Parliament meet. His present opinions are in direct opposition to ours. Ours were what they had been from the year 1803 to the year 1815; and what they have been from 1815 to the present hour. The people of Havant burnt him in effigy in 1815. We defended him. We said that he was right. But we cannot say that he is right now; for, in 1815, he said that the present taxes would not be paid, unless wheat were at double the price that it was during the war; and now he says that the present taxes can be paid with wheat at the

some prize that it was at before the war!—He will have to retreat. One of the two of those opinions he must give up; and would it not be better for him, manfully to give up, than to endeavour by a train of subterfuges to support a pretended consistency, and to drag along another year or two of his life, fasted incessantly as he will be by us?—We really do believe; shameful as it is to him: we really do believe, that he is restrained from acting this manly part, partly, if not principally, because his surrendering would be a *surrendering to us!* This false pride is of all things in the world the most selfish; and it scarcely ever fails to add to the quantity of mortification that the party has to experience. During the American war, the world had to witness numerous instances of this silly pride on the part of the English Government and its commanders; but the most remarkable instance of it was, perhaps, exhibited by CORNWALLIS when he was taken, with his army, at little York in Virginia. The capturing army consisted of Americans under the command of WASHINGTON, and of French under the command of RICHMOND. When it came to the ceremony of CORNWALLIS's

surrendering his sword, he expressed his wish to surrender it to RICHMOND, and not to WASHINGTON! The weakness, the inconsiderateness, of this request was to be surpassed by nothing but the gentle, the polite, and the dignified manner in which it was refused by the American General, who, without a word that could discover any angry feeling, without a word from which you could gather that he perceived the false pride of CORNWALLIS, put the whole upon the customs of war and his duty towards his country.—This might serve as a warning to Mr. HUSKISSON and his colleagues: surrender they must, or tear the country to pieces; and in spite of all their endeavours to disguise it, the nation will say, that they surrender to the Author of the Register. If it be said, that we ought to imitate the gentleness, the politeness and dignity of Washington, we observe, that the enemy has not yet signified his intention to surrender. When Mr. Huskisson shall be brought to that point, he shall see how gentle and polite we can be! One would almost think that he would hasten to surrender, were it only from curiosity to see how we should look, when in a gentle mood.

MARKETS.

Average Price of CORN throughout ENGLAND, from the last Gazette.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.
Wheat.....	38	8
Rye.....	19	8
Barley.....	21	2
Oats.....	17	8
Beans.....	23	2
Pease.....	24	3

At MARK LANE (last Monday).

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.
Wheat.....	40	0
Barley.....	20	6
Oats.....	19	7
Rye.....	0	0
Beans.....	23	3
Pease.....	26	8

SMITHFIELD (last Market).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	8	to	3 4
Mutton.....	2	6	—	2 10
Veal.....	3	6	—	4 6
Pork.....	3	0	—	3 8

NEWGATE (last Market).

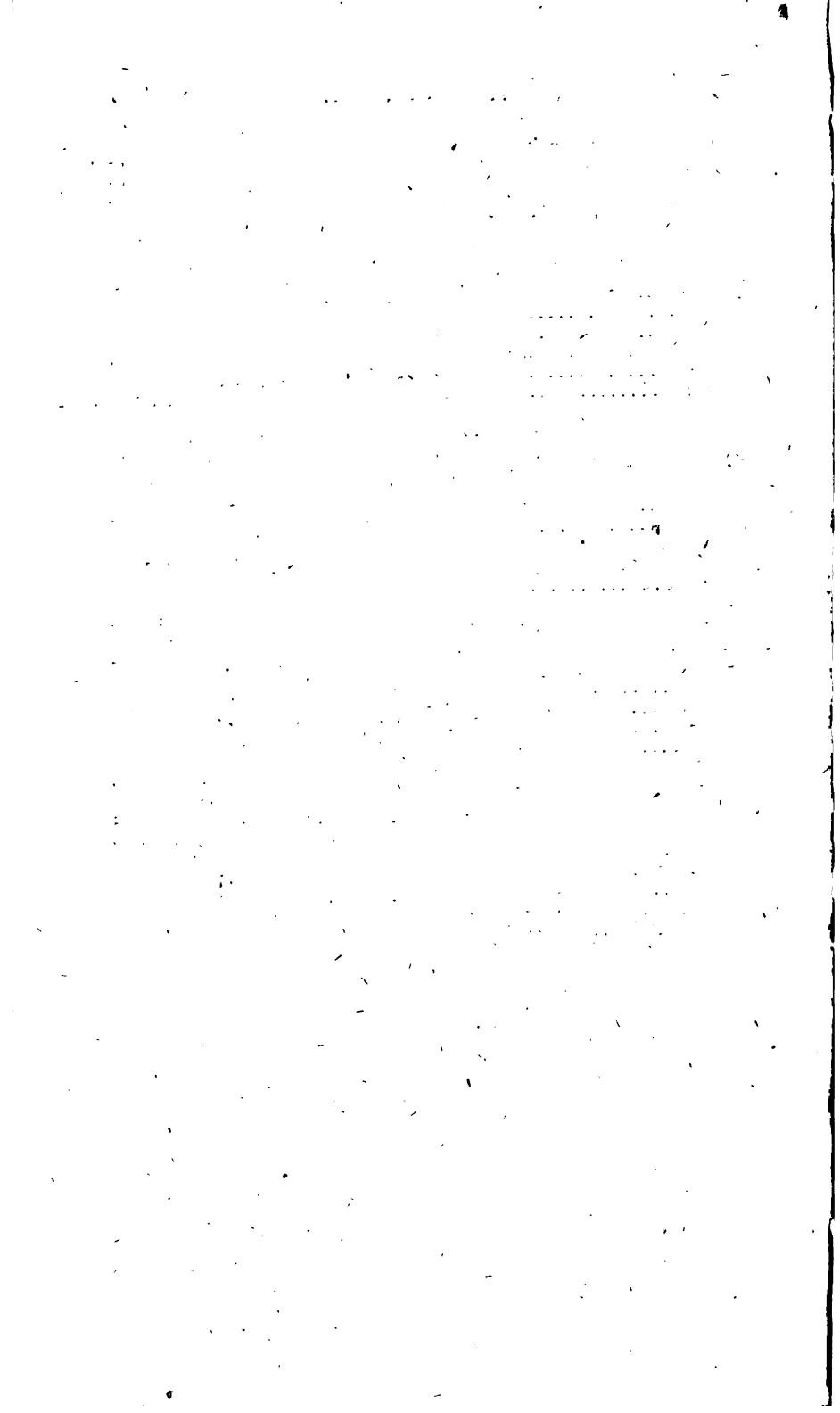
Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	0	to	2 8
Mutton.....	1	10	—	2 6
Veal.....	2	3	—	4 0
Pork.....	2	4	—	3 8
Lamb.....	2	8	—	3 4

BACON—Is considerably more in demand than last week, in consequence of the fineness of the weather. And the same cause operating against the making up of New in Ireland, the trade seem to give up the idea of a further decline. Best 32s. Middling and heavy 25s. to 28s.

BUTTER—Continues steady at nearly the same prices as for two or three weeks past; and much depends upon the weather, as to the course likely to be pursued by the larger Dealers, who usually invest pretty considerably at this time of the year; especially when there is a probability of cold weather. Carlow, 80s. to 82s.—Waterford, 73s. to 75s.—Belfast, 80s.—Limerick, 72s.—Dutch, 92s.

CHEESE—Begins to accumulate in considerable quantities; but there is an unusual disproportion in the value; the finest kinds bringing very high prices, whilst the inferior kinds are almost unsaleable. After the ensuing Reading Fair, it is expected there will be a considerable fall in price. Fine Cheshire, 74s. to 76s.; inferior, 60s. to 70s.—Old Derby, (coloured) 52s. to 56s.; New, 46s. to 48s.; Pale, 43s. to 45s.—New Double Gloucester, 46s. to 50s.; Single, (the best) 44s. to 46s.; (middling) 36s. to 42s.



COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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Published every Saturday Morning, at Six o' Clock.

TO FARMERS.

*On Sinking or Swimming, and
Standing or Falling, together.*

Kensington, 24 Sept. 1822.

FARMERS,

You, who have families that you wish to preserve from absolute beggary or pauperism; to you especially I address this Letter. For about three years we have been hearing of the fellow-feeling between the *Landlords and Tenants*. We have been hearing the former assuring the latter, that they will "*not desert them*;" that they will "*sink or swim*" with them; that they will "*stand or fall*" with them; and the new Duke, he of Buckingham, told them, that they form "*a Link*" in that "*chain*" of which he was a part; and that, if the chain were once *broken*; if any of the links failed, the whole of that strong and bright chain, which was the "*envy of surrounding nations and admiration*

"of the world" would go to pieces, and that all would be confusion, uproar, confiscation, revolution, rape, and the devil knows what.

At the time when this *chain*-speech came out, I took the liberty to caution the Farmers and their Wives not to place too much reliance on a *metaphor*. I told them, that the Duke, who is a learned man of very high Norman blood, spoke in language too sublime for our vulgar capacities; and that, though he did say, that we were all links of the same chain with himself, his meaning might be different from what we, of the "*lower orders*," might suppose it to be. Then there was the word *broken*. His Grace was pleased sublimely to observe, that, if the chain were once *broken*, if any of the links *failed*, such and such would be the consequences. But, he did not define what he should deem a *breaking*, or a *failing*, of a link. We might, indeed, gather from what he afterwards published,

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and which I conveyed very faithfully to the Farmers' Wives, that he did not look upon a link as having been broken as long as a farm-house, belonging to four hundred acres of land, was supplied with a whole pound of red sugar a-week. So that, at this rate, the landlord might be pretty safe, the link landlord might be sound and strong, long after the link tenant might be in a very corroded and rotten state.

Whether any of this Duke's tenants have fallen into what one might call *breaking* I know not. I know that there are a couple of very bright links, in two of the Wynns. I know, that there is a *freemantle* and a Dr. *Phillimore* that are another couple of bright links in the envied and admired chain. I know, that the Duke *sings*, though by no means a feather; but, whether any of his tenants have *sunk*, I really do not know, except from that sort of *hearsay*, which, just at this time, I do not think it right to repeat.

On the subject, generally, of "*standing or falling, sinking and swimming, together*," I cautioned all tenants, in every part of the kingdom. I told them to rely on no such vague professions; to look to their own safety in time; to be assured, that the *distrain* would come; and that all the fine professions would be nothing in answer to the *Sheriff*. I told them to *cut and run*, if they had not time regularly to heave the anchor; for, that, if they remained; if they went on hoping for things to come about, ruin, beggary or a poor-house, must be their lot, be the length of their purse what it might. Some, and these not a few, followed my ad-

vice. These are, at any rate, *not* beggars; not totally penniless. I repeat this advice, the moral justice of which I have before fully proved; and, in order to enforce it, I now lay before you the case of Farmer VAWSER and Landlord WOODWARD, which will give you as neat a specimen as you can possibly desire of "*standing or falling, and of sinking or swimming, together*."

You are to know (those of you who have not already been fully informed of it,) that, in this metropolis of "*prosperity*," in this wen that is sucking up all the wholesome blood of the body and turning it into corruption, there is a place called the *Insolvent Debtors' Court*. To this scene of misery are brought the unfortunate beings, who are in prison for debt. Here sit little Judges to order the *discharge* of Debtors, if nothing be alleged and proved as to their having acted fraudulently; in which latter case the Judges have the power to order them to be kept still in prison for any length of time not exceeding *two years*. Into this Court, on the 6th of this month, came Farmer VAWSER and his Landlord WOODWARD: and now, from the Morning Chronicle newspaper of the 7th instant, you shall read, and, I hope, you will attend to, what passed, it being of vital importance to all farmers, and especially to such as have wives and families that they wish not to die in a poor-house. I have numbered the paragraphs that the referring to them, as I proceed in my remarks, may be more easy.

1: Yesterday Daniel Cowherd Vawser came up to be heard on his petition to be discharged.

2. The insolvent had been a farmer at March in Cambridgeshire, and his discharge was opposed by Mr. Cooke on behalf of his landlord, Mr. Woodward.

3. Mr. Cooke's examination of the insolvent consisted of an inquiry into the disposal of his property. The insolvent stated, that in the year 1817, he sold his share of an estate which was then in Chancery for 1,800*l.*, and in the year 1820, he received a legacy of 300*l.* He left his farm in December last, because he was threatened with a distress by his landlord, and with an execution by a creditor of the name of Lee, to whom he had given a warrant of attorney for 600*l.* He had then 96 sheep, which he sold to his brother-in-law for 140*l.* in part payment of a debt of 250*l.* he had borrowed from him. He removed some of his furniture to his brother-in-law's house, and left part in his own to be taken by his landlord. His landlord brought an action against his brother-in-law for the furniture removed, and it was given back to him. He kept no account books; but of the labour done on his farm, and a memorandum book, in which he entered the corn he sent to market.

4. Mr. Heath, who was Counsel for the insolvent, examined him in explanation. His farm contained 50*l.* acres; he held it eight years at the rent of 800*l.* a year; he did not think there was any rent due to his landlord, though he claimed a year's rent at Lady-day last. The landlord entered his first distress in December for 50*l.*; he was in possession a considerable time, and made two sales which produced 450*l.* He put in another distress after Lady-day, and sold every thing that was possible to sell—the growing crops consisting of 100 acres of wheat, and 30 acres of coleseed, worth at least 3*l.* per acre; he also sold every thing that was moveable, even the fixtures out of the house; and the furniture he got back from the insolvent's brother-in-law was worth 100*l.* The insol-

vent repeated his opinion that his landlord was fully paid; and said his own insolvency was owing to the dearth of the farm, which Mr. Woodward, when he knew he was losing by it in the year 1817, had given him to understand he would give at a reduced rent, but had afterwards refused to make any abatement.

5. Mr. Woodward, the landlord, was examined by Mr. Cooke.—He had been frequently at the insolvent's house, and had seen three account books there within the last twelve months. He did not see the insolvent's property that was taken in distress; about 300*l.* of it had been bought for him; he did not think he got a very great bargain; he offered it to the insolvent's brother-in-law for 50*l.* profit.

6. The insolvent was re-examined respecting the three books seen at his house, and said two of them were in his possession in town; one was the labourers' book of the year 1821, the other the memorandum book he had mentioned; the third was in the country, and was the labourers' book of the year 1820.

7. Mr. Cooke prayed the Court that the case might be adjourned till those books were produced.

8. Mr. Heath said, he must agree in that prayer, because he could not wish that the insolvent should be discharged with a shadow of imputation on his character; though, said the Learned Gentleman, I must regret that in the mean time my feelings may cool before I can have an opportunity to observe on the persevering oppression of the landlord, who, in these times, after receiving such a rent for such a length of time, and taken the last remnant of property his tenant had in the world, now seeks to keep him in prison, though it is doubtful whether any thing is due to him.

9. The Court adjourned the case, to give time for the production of the books.

Now, in the first place, I know nothing of either of these parties. I take the report, as I find it in print. You will observe, that the effect of the *opposition* of WOODWARD has already been to *retard* the discharge of VAWSER, and, if finally successful, would have the effect of *keeping him in prison for a long while*.

In the 4th paragraph you find, that WOODWARD *gave* the farmer *to understand*, that he would *lower the rent*! How amply does this agree with the cautions that I gave you all, long enough ago. I said that they would talk in this vague manner, about standing or falling together. I by no means wish to insinuate, that all landlords are of the same disposition, or are likely to act in the same sort of way; and we have seen that many of them, following the example of Lord Fitzwilliam, have acted in a really honest and conscientious manner. But, when a man's all is at stake; when it depends upon his conduct whether his wife and family shall have bread to eat, it surely becomes him to take care what he is about; to make his bargain safely, and to have an obligation, and not a mere verbal promise for the fulfilment of a compact so important.

In spite of this *giving to understand*, we find the landlord entering with two distresses and sweeping every thing away, *even to the fixtures in the farm-house*. We find him pursuing a part of the farmer's goods. We find him buying in the things himself; or, at least, having them bought in for him; here comes the landlord in his own person, and says in the fifth paragraph, that he did not think he had a *very great bar-*

gain: for, that he offered his bargain to the farmer's brother-in-law at a *profit of fifty pounds*! Good God! here is a landlord, buying in the distrained goods of his tenant; offering to let them go to another at a profit of fifty pounds upon only three hundred pounds; that is to say, at a profit of more than *sixteen per cent.*; and here comes this landlord before this court, to object to this ruined tenant being set at liberty! This is what they call *sinking or swimming together*!

However, the farmer really deserved this. He had an opportunity of reading my writings as well as other men had. If he did read them, he must have known what his fate would be; or, being obstinate, or prejudiced, or perverse; hating that which he ought to have loved, reviling that which he ought to have cherished, he set my writings at defiance and pursued the path to ruin. If he did not read my writings, it was his own fault. He must have heard of them first or last. There is no part of the country in which they are not heard of, at any rate; and, if he suffered himself to be led into condemnation without reading, how is it possible that I, or that any one else can say that he has not received the wages of his unjust prejudice. It is no answer to me to say that he was *told* this and that about Cobbett's writings. He should have read. I will engage that he read Webb Hall's trash in the Farmer's Journal; that he read newspapers of some sort or other; and that he thus assisted in supporting the vile frauds that the press has been practising upon the country for so many years.

But, because he has thus been negligent, it does not follow that his landlord has acted the part, which, under the present circumstances, a landlord ought to act. From paragraph four, we see that this farmer has actually paid this landlord for five hundred acres of land, *six thousand four hundred pounds in eight years*; a larger sum than the fee-simple of the farm is worth at this moment! From paragraph three, we perceive, that the farmer sold an estate five years ago *or one thousand, eight hundred pounds*; that he received a legacy of three hundred pounds about the same time; and we see that all these are swallowed up, and all his stock, down to the fixtures in his house, by the landlord! This is a specimen of standing or falling together. The tenant is down; but the landlord has got from him, in eight years, more than the worth of the estate, and has the estate left into the bargain.

In paragraph five, we have the landlord as a witness. He had frequently been at the *farmer's house*, and had seen some account books there. The farmer clearly explains what these were; but, only think of frequently *visiting the farmer as a friend and acquaintance*: and then coming into a Court, and making use, in his own behalf, as landlord, of the information which he had there gained as friend and acquaintance. If this be not sinking or swimming together, pray tell me where such sinking or swimming is to be found. It was doubtless during these friendly visits, that this Woodward told the farmer, or gave him to understand, that he would reduce the rent! Such friendly

visits, such givings to understand were all forgotten when the fixtures were sold out of the house, and when the landlord, having bought in a parcel of his tenant's goods, generously offered to let the farmer's brother-in-law have them at a profit of fifty pounds!

If this specimen be not enough to put all the farmers in England upon their guard, nothing can be enough. They will be ruined, and they will merit their ruin. They have been told over and over and over again, that prices cannot rise, as long as gold payments continue. They have been told; that it is impossible for them to pay rent with present taxes and present prices. They have not only been told this. It is not assertion that has been laid before them: it is argument; it is fact, it is proof; and, if they persevere, they not only will be ruined, but they merit ruin. They are obstinate unreasonable men. They can care little for their wives or their children; and so far from deserving pity, they will deserve nothing but scorn.

I perceive, with great pleasure, that, in Norfolk, hundreds upon hundreds are *quitting their farms*. This shows their good sense. It shows their intelligence. It shows that they have the spirit not to surrender up their last shilling and to become beasts of burden to the landlords. I do not wish to excite enmity in tenants against their landlords, but I wish to see the former preserved. Besides, the *remedy* is in the hands of the landlords, much more than in the hands of the tenants. A large reduction of taxation is what is wanted; and, if the landlord will not bestir himself to cause this

reduction, let him take the consequence in the loss of his estate; but let not the tenant give up the last shilling of his capital to men, who, for the sake of their relations in the army, the navy, the church, or in some public employ or pay, of one sort or another, will abstain from moving hand or foot towards lightening the burdens of the country.

Let not a farmer say, that *things must change*; that the Parliament must do something. This is very true; but we know not what it will do, or when it will do it. It will take some time yet to push things on till open confusion is produced. There will be the greatest reluctance in the world to do *any thing effectual*. It will not be done until the last moment. In the mean time, the farmer is ruined. My advice, therefore, always has been, and still is; if you cannot heave anchor, *cut and run*. Get off with something; the moral justice of which has been proved by me over and over again, in dissertations to which no one has ever attempted to give an answer; and which, therefore, I take to be unanswerable.

Some think that the Parliament will repeal Peel's Bill. Others think that they will not. I, who know as much about the matter as any body, am pretty well satisfied that the Ministers themselves know no more what they shall propose than does the bit of paper upon which I am now writing. It has been thought, that what a *man of the name of Randal Jackson* said the other day, at a Bank Meeting, indicates that small notes are to be put out again. God bless the man! he is a poor talk-

ing thing that has no more to do with the matter; and that knows nothing of the matter any more than any of the sparrows upon your barns. In my opinion, the Bank will never put out small notes again. The Bank Directors know well, that that is not to be done, without their ceasing to pay in gold; and they know equally well, that, if they once more cease to pay in gold, their paper will be regarded as *assignats*; and as nothing better.

However, it is impossible to know for some time, what will be done; and, in the mean time, the farmer is a beggar. Once more, therefore, I say, heave the anchor, if you can; and, if you cannot, *cut and run*: always provided, however, that the landlords do not stir to cause a reduction of taxation; for, if they stir, you will join them; the thing will be done, they will have their rents and you will keep your stock.

WM. COBBETT.

COLONEL GORE AND CORPORAL GEORGE.

From the "STANDARD" of
Tuesday.

On the 13th and 14th instant a Court Martial was held at Portman Barracks, on a Lieutenant-Colonel Gore. My attention was drawn to this matter by the following paragraph, which appeared in all the principal Morning Papers of the 16th instant. The paragraph was in precisely these words:

"We are happy to state, that in the afternoon of yesterday, Colonel Gore received a letter from John Beckett, Esq. Judge Advocate, congratulating him upon the result of the deliberation, of the Court, viz. a full and honourable acquittal. The letter added, that the charge was pronounced wicked and malicious, and that an immediate prosecution would be instituted against the Corporal. Of course the decision of the Court must have received His Majesty's approbation previous to this communication."

I have great reluctance to meddle with any of the curious affairs of these red-coated gentlemen. But, having had my attention drawn to the matter by this curious paragraph; struck with the happiness which the Editors of the newspapers so unanimously felt upon the occasion; and perceiving their happiness was not to be at all diminished by the prospect of seeing an "immediate prosecution" of the Corporal, I was led to look a little into the matter; and having looked into it I soon discovered a great deal more than sufficient to account for this extraordinary happiness. On the 16th of the month the Report of the trial appeared in the *Old Times*, pretty much at length; but, merely a notice of the nature of the charge appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, which, however, had in the above paragraph. On the 19th a new edition of the whole appeared in the *New Times*, which edition will be found subjoined to the article I am now writing.

When I came to read this new edition, the subject assumed, in my eyes, additional importance. Perhaps, after all, I should not have taken this sort of notice of the affair, had I not found that

COLONEL GORE had *Mr. Adolphus sitting by his side during the trial!* And, that COLONEL GORE, in his defence, used the following words: "When I assert, as I am confident I shall prove, that the charge and all the evidence upon it, as it relates to me, is utterly false and unfounded; it may naturally be asked what can have induced the prosecutor to make such an accusation, when he knew it to be utterly unfounded? I am unable to define, or even to surmise the personal motives of the individual; but, I am sorry to observe, that these times are fruitful in instances of the extraordinary excesses to which men may be carried by envy and hatred of their superiors in rank and authority, and by the distinction which they hope to gain in certain classes of society by malignant aspersions and daring attacks upon those who are elevated above them in station and in character."

I will not say that it was not this which prevailed over my reluctance to meddle with a matter of this sort. Here is a general attack upon the people at large. Here is a repetition of the cuckoo cry of want of respect for our "betters." Where are these daring attacks that COLONEL GORE has perceived to be so common? Was it he or was it Mr. ADOLPHUS, that discovered this pretty reason for the Corporal's charge? Where did the Colonel discover that there were persons in society beneath him? I almost became literally sick at reading several parts of his defence; but the part where he talks of being well born, I really must impute to

his Learned Friend. However, as I shall come to it again by-and-by, I will say no more of it here; and will proceed, to state, in the first place, the *nature of the charge*, and then, to state my view of the evidence and the defence.

As to the nature of the charge, the best way will be to take the description of it given in the newspapers, which is as follows :

" A Court-martial was held on Friday at Portman Barracks, and continued on Saturday, for the trial of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Gore, of the Coldstream Guards, on a charge of 'having on the 2d of August last, at a public-house in Oxford-street, associated with, and joined company with, and drank beer with Corporal Samuel George, of the Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards; such conduct being unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, and to the prejudice of good order and military discipline.' "

Now, as to the nature of this charge, we must not lightly observe that there was no crime in giving a Corporal a pot of beer, and, even, drinking with a Corporal; for, it is against the orders of the army; it is contrary to all the usages of our army; and Colonel Gore himself calls it a disgraceful act, and says, that the charge had filled his mind with the deepest anxiety. I agree, then, that the charge, if false, amounted to a great offence in the Corporal; and that it was of a very serious nature with regard to the person accused.

There can be no doubt then that he must have been extremely happy at being acquitted of this charge; and I am not about to challenge the acquittal; to call the propriety or justice of it in

question; but to give a sort of *summing up of the evidence*; which appears to be the more necessary, as no such summing up has been put into print, though the defence, at full length, containing the above quoted political doctrine, has duly and truly made its appearance, through all the newspapers of the kingdom.

Before, however, I proceed to this summing up, there are some preliminary remarks, which suggest themselves as necessary to give us a fair start into the matter, to give us a sort of *history of the proceedings*; for, unless we have this, we must blunder along reading or talking about things, without having scarcely an idea of the sources whence the several incidents spring.

It appears, then, that the drinking scene took place on the 2d of August; that George made no public mention of this until the 11th of August; that after this there was *two examinations of GEORGE*, and of SHAW and MASON, by the *officers of Colonel GORE's regiment*. We are left to conjecture here, whether GEORGE was in the same regiment with the Colonel, or not. In the charge, it is said, that they are both of the *Coldstream Guards*; and yet GEORGE talks of Colonel GORE's officers, and frequently we have the mention of the officers of *Colonel GORE's regiment*. However, it appears that by officers of some sort or other, there were two examinations previous to the trial. We find, also, that there was a meeting of Colonel WOODFORD, Sir HENRY BOUVERIE, Colonel HAMILTON, Colonel GORE, Mr. GORE (the father), and a friend of Mr.

Gore's, at some time or other, previous to the trial; that at this meeting Mr. Gore, the father, was examined, and that Colonel Woodford took a note of what he said.

The reader will bear all these previous steps in mind. We gather, (for we only gather it, from Colonel Gore's defence) that this same Col. Woodford was the person who acted as *prosecutor* before the Court, or, perhaps we should call it *introducer*: for Col. Gore begins his defence by acknowledging, "with heartfelt gratitude the very *handsome* and *liberal* manner in which the charge against him was introduced by Col. Woodford." Col. Woodford, we shall find, afterwards becomes a *witness for the defence*. This may be all very proper; but, it is a circumstance to be attended to.

And now let us turn a little to Corporal George. He had undergone two examinations, at which Colonel Woodford assisted, and, from the 14th of August, he had been, where, think you? Why, in *confinement*! He said, that, from the first mention of the business, in the public canteen, on the 11th, he was solemnly charged, "on pain of *confinement to hold his tongue on the subject, even on peril of his life*." He was put into this confinement on the 14th of August. Upon his saying this, Colonel Woodford said, that "he had liberty to go out whenever he asked." The President of the Court remarked; "that it was fit he should be restrained from circulating such a story, till the facts were properly inquired into." George

said, "that if he had been at liberty he might have found other persons to corroborate his testimony." Upon which Col. Woodford said, that, "so far was George from being prevented from looking for witnesses, that he had full permission to go out whenever he chose for that purpose. IN COMPANY WITH A SERGEANT." The Sergeant being present confirmed Colonel Woodford's statement, and said that he repeatedly asked George, whether he wished to go any where, as he was ready to accompany him.

This, to be sure, was an odd sort of way to further the prosecution, which Colonel Gore says he was so anxious should take place; but these are the facts as they are stated. It seems singular to us who wear coats of all sorts of colours that he who was charged should be at liberty and that he who made the charge should be kept in confinement. This seems to us a little like reversing the order of things; and if it were adopted in common life, it would certainly save Judges and Juries a great deal of trouble; for the thing of all things for a man to be afraid of would be that of imputing crime of any sort to any human being. This is, however, it seems, agreeable to the law military, with which we have nothing to do; but, as far as regards our present inquiry, we have to bear it in mind; for he must be a stupid man indeed, who does not perceive that it ought to have considerable weight with us from one end of our observations to the other.

From the character in which Colonel Woodford appears as

prosecutor or introducer: from his coming afterwards with Major BERTINCK as a witness to what the Corporal said at his previous examinations; from his appearing a third time with his notes to say what passed *at the meeting* when Colonel Gore's father was examined: from all this it would appear that he was one of those persons called the Officers of Colonel Gore's regiment. Now, as he was the prosecutor, may one be permitted to ask of him, why George had not his *Mr. Adolphus* at his elbow as well as Colonel Gore? Or was there not another Mr. Adolphus to be found upon the face of the earth?—Colonel Woodford, too, is the person to answer George, when the latter complains of not being able to go to look for witnesses. He *contradicts* him, and says that he had full permission to go in company *with a sergeant!* So that, one looks about in vain for *somebody to assist the Corporal*, who comes, in fact, from *out of confinement into the Court*, while the person who is being tried is not only at large, but is *handsomely and liberally* treated by his prosecutor, and has, at his elbow, a lawyer famed at Hicks's Hall and at the Old Bailey; not in his wig and gown, that we know of; but still he was there with that magazine of knowledge, acuteness and resource, so visible in his countenance. To this gentleman the Colonel was, doubtless, indebted, for much of that point and elegance which we find in his *written defence*.—If George had had a lawyer, and one that would have done what they know so well how to do, what might not have been the consequence? However, keeping

the above circumstance safely in our minds, let us now proceed to take a view of the evidence and defence, and first of all, it will be necessary to read the whole through with attention.

The reader will perceive, that the trial lasted two days, and that the party tried had from three o'clock on the first day to the time that the Court met on the second day, to fashion his defence. George, it will be borne in mind, had undergone two examinations before. These were down in writing; so that, Colonel Gore and his learned friend had plenty of materials whereon to work for a defence. This might be all very right; but, at any rate, they can never say that they were taken by surprise. We now proceed to the account, published in the *New Times* of the 19th, which will be found subjoined to this article.

The first observation to make is, that the Corporal's story, as far as relates to some man going into the public-house, and there getting the pot of beer, and giving some of it to George, is completely confirmed. The precise moment of time is not stated by any of them; but, CATHERINE HAIR, and MARY M'CARTHY, fully corroborate and confirm the fact about a gentleman's going and getting the beer and doing as George had said. The question, therefore, is, to ascertain whether it be or be not proved that Colonel Gore was that gentleman. For the affirmative of this proof we have nothing but George's oath. Neither of the women recognized Colonel Gore; and one of them, though he had seen him *since*, had no recollection of ever having seen

him before. She recollected the gentleman, and a soldier. Her description of the dress agrees with George's description. The other, MARY M'CARTHY, said she should know the soldier, but that she had no recollection of the gentleman. She agrees also in the description of his dress given by George. She related what the gentleman said to her about being married. Being asked to look at Colonel Gore, and say if she knew him, she first said she did not, that she had never seen him before to her knowledge; but then again she says, that she cannot say, *whether he was the gentleman with the soldier or not.*

Out of all this we gather a perfect confirmation of George's testimony, as far as relates to the fact of there having been a gentleman at the public-house with him, dressed as George described him to be dressed, and doing the things which George said he did. —Next comes Elizabeth Green, "whose appearance," the *New Times* tells us, "indicated that she did not belong to the most chaste and respectable part of society." It appears in the end, that it was ferreted out, that this woman, whose husband lives separated from her, has passed for George's sister, and that, she was not likely to be a vestal. Nevertheless, her evidence is not to be wholly disregarded. She looked round the room, said that Colonel Gore resembled the gentleman more than any body else as to size and thinness; but that she could not swear to him, as she did not see his face when she saw him in Oxford-street. Now, though one would not choose such a witness as this, yet, if he had been

there for the purpose of false swearing; for the purpose of helping her poor "*brother*" out of a strape, she certainly would have made no bones of the matter; she would have sworn roundly to the man; she could have said she saw his face, and that she knew him again. Her evidence, therefore, is not to be wholly discarded as good for nothing; but, on the contrary, tends further to corroborate the evidence of George.

It must be observed here that Mary M'Carthy, though she recollected seeing George on the second of August, did not recollect having seen Colonel Gore. She had never seen him before to her knowledge. This is what she said when she was bidden to look at Colonel Gore. Now, this might be, and yet Colonel Gore might be the man, unless he was at the time when she looked at him in the court, *in the same dress that the gentleman was in at the time when she saw him at her mother's house.* He was possibly not dressed in regimentals at the Court Martial. I believe that the regulations of the army require that he should be dressed in regimentals. If he were so dressed, it is not at all surprising that she should not recognise the man that she saw dressed in a shabby brown coat, white trousers, very dirty and all over grease, and a black hat, which was round of course. To identify a man thus dressed, when you come to see that man in regimentals, is difficult indeed; and if the Colonel were not dressed in regimentals at the Court Martial, he was, doubtless, dressed in a manner very different from that of the gentleman of the 2d of August.

The Corporal, in order to show that he had always said that it was Colonel Gore, brought two privates of the regiment, to whom, he said, he had related the circumstances, and mentioned the name of the Colonel, just after the affair took place. Mary M'Carthy says, that she saw George speaking to two soldiers at the public-house door, just after he had finished the pot of beer that the gentleman had called for. This corroborates George's evidence to a certain extent. The two soldiers, Shaw and Mason, are called, and they say that George *did not tell them the name of the gentleman*. This is material, because, if George did tell them the name of the gentleman, it would go very far to prove the charge; seeing, that then there could have been no premeditation; there could have been nothing to put it into his head; and the motive, described by Colonel Gore in his defence would be entirely done away. The Colonel supposes it probable that his name occurred to the Corporal in consequence of a licentious conversation in the canteen on the 11th of August; but, if it appears that George mentioned the name upon the spot, this supposition of the Colonel is wholly removed. Shaw and Mason swear, that George *did not tell them the gentleman's name*. This would be conclusive, not only as to the non-confirmation of George's testimony, but as to his credibility altogether. But now comes out a very curious thing; namely, that these witnesses had been examined by the officers before, and that, too, *not in the presence of George*. Let us stop here to observe, that the Judge-Advocate, when witnesses

were about to be called in support of George's charge, said, that he thought it but fair, that George should be present, while the witnesses were examined. If it was but fair, at the Court Martial, that George should be present, what was it to be called at these previous examinations, where George *was not present*? I do not say what it was. Let the reader judge for himself.

How necessary it was for him to be present, appears from the evidence of CORPORAL MARSHALL, which we shall presently have to notice. George, upon hearing Shaw say, that he did not mention the name of Colonel Gore to him, told the Court, that Shaw told him in the presence of Corporal Marshall, that when he (Shaw) "came before the gentlemen *he was afraid to tell the truth, but that what he had said he would NOW STICK TO.*" The Court then questioned Shaw again, and Shaw positively denies that he said that he had *not told the truth*, but acknowledges that he said that he "*trembled all over.*" His words are, that *he trembled all over, but had told the truth*. Then comes Corporal Marshall, who says, that George accused Shaw of not having told the truth before the gentlemen; to which Shaw replied, that, "if he had wanted him to say any thing, he should have spoken to him before he went in, and then he should have known what to say; but, *he was so frightened that he did not know what he was going to say.*" Then George puts the question directly to Corporal Marshall; and Marshall says, that Shaw said, "*he was afraid to say the truth,*" or

some words of that sort. Shaw comes back again. He says that Marshall was not correct, and that what he did say was, "that he had told them all he knew, but that he was all of a tremble, and scarcely knew what he was doing."

Is it worth while to attempt any comment on a poor creature that was all of a tremble, and scarcely knew what he was doing? When we look at the situation of these parties: when we see the terrified state in which they were; when we consider what must have been the apprehensions to produce a trembling all over and a sort of suspension of intellect, in a man who had probably braved death a dozen times; how are we to believe that this man did boldly speak the truth before those whose presence had inspired him with so much terror? But if, even upon his own showing, it be impossible to believe, that he would say a word that he thought would be disagreeable to the gentlemen, how are we to believe that he did speak the truth after hearing the evidence of Corporal Marshall?

As to Mason, he stands upon a level with Shaw. Shaw was frightened half to death. Mason could not be expected to be very bold; and thus I think it must be evident to every impartial person, that George did mention the name of Colonel Gore to these two men at the door of the Nag's Head. This does not prove that it *was* Colonel Gore; but it proves, that George had had no time for premeditation, and that, the cause which the Colonel assigns for his name having been selected has no foundation in fact.

Mrs. Green was called again.

She repeated again her former story; but upon some questions being put to her respecting her husband, she said, that what she came there about had nothing to do with *her or her husband*. We find the President telling her that it is her duty to answer every question that the Court may think proper to put to her with a view to further the ends of justice. She, however, questioned the right of the Court to enforce any such rule upon her, and, as the *New Times* tells us, becoming *somewhat impertinent*, she was ordered to withdraw.

I have mentioned this, merely as a contrast with what follows. The President asked George if he had any more witnesses, "but it appearing, from George's statement, that their evidence had no reference to the charge before the Court, they were not called." It would appear, according to all the Laws of Evidence that I have heard of, to be time enough to discard evidence as *irrelevant* when it is tendered to a Court or Jury; that is to say, when the witnesses have been produced, and have been suffered to speak for themselves. But, could it be more inapplicable to the charge before the Court; could George's two additional witnesses have *less* reference to the point at issue, than any circumstances respecting the husband of Mrs. Green, who did not live with her, and was living at Rochester? Corporal George appears not to have been deficient in point of sagacity; and I must hear the reasons stated before I can be brought to believe, that the two witnesses, named by him would have been of no service to his cause. However,

we have before seen that he was in confinement from the time of his making the charge to the day of trial; and now we see that being at the trial, he requests two witnesses to be called who are not called. We are told, that he had full permission to go out to look for witnesses, *with a Sergeant along with him*. But, what was the use of his looking for witnesses, if others were to decide whether they should be called or not?

Thus we have gone through the evidence in support of the charge. It is proved beyond all question, that, at the time and place specified, there was a gentleman dressed in the manner described by Corporal George, and doing the things stated by him. With respect to the identity of this gentleman, we have nothing but George's oath, corroborated by the circumstance of his having told Shaw and Mason, immediately after the transaction, and without time for premeditation, that Gore was the man. With respect to the veracity of George, it is endeavoured to shake the character of that by the evidence of Sergeant Powell, who says that George said that he was not playing at cards at a time when it was afterwards proved that he was playing at cards. Another thing of this sort is that George had said that Mrs. Green never called herself his sister, in his presence, without his contradicting her; and it is proved, or, at least, so I take it, that he was present when she called herself his sister, and he did not contradict her. There is no doubt, that George, and Mrs. Green passed for brother and sister, whenever their affairs seemed to require it. And

whatever this may be worth, together with the story about not being at cards when he was playing at cards: whatever these may be worth; as things to depreciate the oath of George, the defendant is fairly entitled to take. It must be observed, however, that they amount to little more than truant's and lover's lies; and, if evidence were to be discredited by spots of character like these, it is not easy to conceive how criminals could ever be brought to justice.

Colonel Woodford, and other officers, bring a statement, taken at the previous examinations. This statement is said to have contained "*material variances*" when compared with the testimony George had given before the Court. It is a pity but this statement had been published; not that it would have had any weight with me; not the smallest in the world, when I recollected that it was taken extrajudicially, when it was taken by Colonel Gore's brother officers; and when I recollected, or, rather, now saw that one of the witnesses called before those officers, told the Court itself, that, when he went, "*he was all of a tremble, and scarcely knew what he was doing*." The statement would have had no effect upon me at all, unless it had come in the handwriting of George himself.

George said, in his evidence, that Sergeant Powell, observed, when he, George, related the story in the canteen; "*that's an old story, and I heard it years before*." Sergeant Powell denies this: and this is one of the things that is relied upon to discredit the evidence of George. Now, in the first place, this has very little to do with the matter; and there ap-

pears to have been no motive for George to impute this to Powell. It is unnecessary for him to state it. But the reader will judge for himself, between the credibility of George and of Powell, always bearing in mind that Powell is a Sergeant; and not forgetting that this Sergeant says that he made *no observation at all*, when George related the affair to him. It ought to be observed, too, that Powell was the Sergeant *sent for* by Gore, by his servant. It is a pity that it did not occur to the Court to ask what Gore sent to Powell for: what passed between them when he went to him, in consequence of that sending for. It is to be observed, too, that there were two or three sergeants in the room at the time when George told the story to Powell; and that none of these sergeants were called. The next witness is Foster. George says, in his evidence, that Foster saw him go into the Nag's Head on the day in question. Foster is brought, and he says that he did not see George at all on that day; but this man's memory seems not to be very good; for he does not know whether he was out of employment or not on the second of August. George, being asked whether he had any questions to put to this man, said that it was useless, after having been told by a sergeant, that he said he knew nothing at all of him, *though they had sailed together in the same ship from Portsmouth*.

These are the things brought forward to throw discredit, upon the oath of George. Whatever discredit the reader may think, that they do throw upon that evidence, will, of course, go to the benefit of Colonel Gore; but, most as-

surdly, if the act had been that of murder, instead of that of treating a man to a pot of beer, and, if the evidence had closed at the point where we now are, the accused party would have been hanged. For, though it is proved that George did tell lies about Mrs. Green, and about playing at cards; and though we were to take it to be proved that he did not see Foster on the 2d of August, and that the sergeant did not say that Gore's was an old story; and, if we were even to add to all this, that there were some "*variances*" about the streets and houses and other little particulars, in his evidence before the "*gentlemen*," and that before the Court; still it remains proved, beyond all doubt, that the *transaction took place* with some gentleman; it remains proved that George said that it was Gore upon the spot, and immediately after the departure of the gentleman; and it remains yet to be shown that he could have any *possible motive* for selecting the name of Colonel Gore in preference to that of any other individual.

But we now come to the evidence for the defence, independent of all imputation as to the veracity of the accuser. This evidence is to prove an alibi; and if that be proved to the satisfaction of the reader, then Colonel Gore has been calumniated. The witnesses are, the Colonel's father; his servant, Cooper; and his groom, Davies. The father states that his son was in his presence, except for a few minutes, while the son was at the shop of Mr. Bell; and that, he watched his going in and coming

out of that shop, and the *instant* he came out, he took him away in the gig. There is a minuteness and a positiveness in Mr. Gore's evidence that appears something extraordinary. On the 14th of September, he recollects that, on the 2d of August the clock struck seven while he was at dinner.

Now observe, this affair had made no noise until the 11th of August; so that from the second to the twelfth, he had carried in his mind the fact of the clock having struck seven while he was at dinner. He does not say that the clock *usually* struck seven during dinner time; but says that he is "confidently punctual as to the fact of the clock having struck seven while he was at dinner on that day."—He is very particular about all the movements and local situations of his son during the whole of that day. The son did not dine with the family, but *dined up stairs*. It is remarkable that no reason is assigned for this. We are told that the Colonel had not dined below for nearly a month; but we find no reason given for this; and we find no witness called to give proof of it except Mr. Gore himself. It is usual enough for persons confined to their room, or even confined to the house, to dine in a room by themselves; but, when a man can ride out in a gig; can get out of the gig and go into a bookseller's shop, can ride home in a heavy storm of rain, or (which must have been the case) get into a wet gig, after the storm is over, can get out of the gig and walk up the garden; when a son can do all these things, it is *not usual* for him to dine in a different room from that of his

father and the family; and, therefore, some reason might have been given for this, or some witnesses besides the father (and there must have been several) might have been brought to establish the fact, which, as we shall presently see, appears to have been absolutely necessary to establish the alibi beyond doubt. And, let it be observed, by-the-bye, that an alibi is a thing that must be proved beyond all doubt to be worth any thing at all.

Corporal George observed that the father had said that the son was never out of his sight except during the few minutes when he was at the chymist's, whereas, says the Corporal, he has acknowledged that he *sent his dinner up to him in his room*. I would ask him, says the Corporal, whether he is *sure that his son was in the room*. Upon which Mr. Gore says, "I can swear that he was. I went up to him two or three times during dinner, as was my practice every day, to see that he had every thing right. I saw him and can positively swear that he was there."

Mr. Gore had said before that the Colonel's servant, Cooper, waited upon him at dinner. When Cooper comes, he swears that he did wait upon him at dinner that day. Being asked the question, he says, "*I do not remember whether Col. Gore's father went up to him during dinner or not. He might have done so, without my seeing him.*" Now observe, Mr. Gore had told us, that it was his *every-day-practice* to go up to his son two or three times while he was at dinner. This is very remarkable. If it were his *every-day-practice*,

what did Cooper need of any remembering about the matter. He might as well have said that he did not remember whether there was any dinner that day or not. And, as to the father's going up to the son *without the servant's seeing him*, how strange a thing, when the same servant swears that it was impossible for the Colonel to go out *without his knowledge*. According to this witness, it was impossible for the son to go out without his knowledge; but very possible for the father to go up to the son two or three times, during the dinner, without his seeing him.

It is certainly something extraordinary that it should have been thought necessary for the father, *who sent the dinner up to the son*, to go two or three times to him, during the time that he was eating it, to see that he had *every thing right*; that is to say, to see that he had the thing which he sent to him. It is not less extraordinary, that the man, who waited upon Colonel Gore at dinner should happen to be out of the room two or three times during his waiting at that dinner; and still more extraordinary, that he should have happened to be out of the room two or three times, at those precise minutes when the father came to see that the son had every thing right. However, the reader has the testimony of these two witnesses before him; and, if, after impartially looking at the matter, he can reconcile the testimony of the one with that of the other, this double testimony certainly goes far towards the proving of the alibi.

We now come to the very curious circumstance of the de-

livery of the prescription at Mr. Bell's shop. Ailing as Col. Gore was, and coming in as he had, *in the wet* before dinner, he takes another ride in the gig after dinner. His father says, that he *could not walk*. It appears that he was the person to get out of the gig and go into Stockdale's shop. It appears that he had walked up the garden, and that he now walked down the garden again to get into the gig. — When they arrive at Mr. Bell's shop it is the Colonel that gets out of the gig again, to carry the prescription, which he had received from Dr. Rose. He had been wet in the morning; but he now takes a dry umbrella. It is necessary that he should have air. The air of Oxford-street, and the streets leading to it; yet no one would think this to have been so good as that which might have been found in the park, which was so much nearer. Colonel Gore, in his defence, lays particular stress on his having been *well born*, and accustomed all his life to be waited upon by servants. It would appear something singular, therefore, that he should choose to be himself the mere bearer of a prescription. He had left two men servants of his own at home, either of whom could have carried this prescription while he might have been taking the air in the park with his father. However, odd as it may be, he is the bearer of this prescription himself; and, as it still more oddly happens, to a shop situated within about *forty yards of this same identical Nag's Head public-house*. If this be all accident, such a concurrence of circumstances seldom happened in this

world before. The picture shop, described by George is in the road from Colonel Gore's house to Bell's shop. Bell's shop lies between the picture shop and the Nag's Head public-house; Colonel Gore, as the chymist, by-and-bye proves, was at Bell's shop. George, to a certainty, was at the Nag's Head public-house. That a gentleman there treated him to beer is clearly proved. That that gentleman was dressed in a brown coat is also clearly proved. That all this took place on the evening of the second of August is clearly proved. George swears that it was Colonel Gore. There is little short of proof that he said so upon the spot. And this is an assemblage of circumstances such as hardly ever was witnessed before, if what George swears be not true.

But we have Mr. Gore's testimony to weigh against all this. He says that he drove his son in the gig to Mr. Bell's. We cannot read this part of his evidence without remarking the anxious minuteness of it. He did not stop opposite Mr. Bell's door with the gig. He drove by the door, went to the right of Queen-street, turned round and came back and stopped the gig opposite the cutler's shop, and the east window of Mr. Bell's shop. There it was, that Col. Gore alighted, and went into the shop with his prescription. I have observed before on the extraordinary circumstance, that the son who could not walk, should get out of the gig at all in the street, while his father remained in it; but, we will suppose this to be the case, the father tells us that he watched for his coming out, and the instant he came out,

he got into the gig. There is an anxiety here which, though easily to be accounted for in a father, and very far indeed from being blameable, we must not pass over without notice, when we think of the consequence to Corporal George. The reader will observe that the main thing to be proved here was, that Col. Gore was then in a gig. This was the main thing to establish. We are now arrived at the very nick of time. We are got within forty yards of the spot. And how comes it, then, that the chymist did not see the gig? How comes it that the chymist, who was a witness brought by Col. Gore for the defence, was not asked whether he saw the gig? Is it likely that a person of the consequence of Col. Gore could have come into the chymist's shop; could have staid there some few minutes; could have staid there long enough for his father to be watching for his coming out; and could have gone out, and got into a gig, without being seen to the door, and into the gig or about the gig by Mr. Farden, who received the prescription, or by some one of the shop of Mr. Bell? But, the gig was, it seems, placed not opposite the door. The reason for that does not appear sufficient; but surely Mr. Farden, who knew Colonel Gore, who was going to send the drugs down to his house, must have seen a gig before the window; and yet Mr. Farden is never asked one word about the gig. This part of the evidence, therefore, as far as relates to the gig, has Mr. Gore to sustain it and nobody else.

There is only one more point of evidence to notice. Mr. Farden, as to point of time, says he

believes it was past seven o'clock. Mr. Gore says, that it was half-past seven or twenty minutes before eight, when Col. Gore came down the garden to get into the gig. Mr. Gore says he drove slowly; so that, it must have been pretty nearly eight o'clock when he arrived at Mr. Bell's. But there is another part of very great consequence. Cooper (who is a soldier he it observed,) the servant of Col. Gore, says, that his master, when he went out in the evening, had, as he believes, a blue coat on. He does not recollect whether his trousers were white or blue, but believes they were either the one or the other. The memory of this man is of as singular a character as his might appears to be. He recollects that his master was dressed in a red striped dressing gown before he went out, but he only believes that he went out in a blue coat, and cannot tell whether the trousers were blue or white. Mr. Farden, however, the assistant of Mr. Bell, the apothecary, does not believe any thing about the matter; he says positively, that he was dressed in a dark coat and waistcoat, and that he did not observe any thing further. Now, a brown coat, is a dark coat. These words are made use of synonymously; but no man ever calls a blue coat a dark coat. It was on the second of August. It was light. Mr. Farden's eyes could not have deceived him; but Cooper's eyes must have deceived him, or his memory must be such as not to be relied on for half an hour. The believing about the colour of the coat is a strange thing to hear from the servant of Col. Gore, who must have brushed the coat, who must have put it on;

and who must have known the colour of it. The Court did not ask any questions of Mr. Farden a second time about this coat; nor did they put a second question to Cooper upon the subject; and yet, of all the whole train of circumstances there was scarcely one of so much importance as this; for here we have Col. Gore, in a dark coat, delivering a prescription with his own hand, at a shop within forty yards of the Nag's Head public-house, at which about the time, that he must have quitted George, supposing him to have been the person that was with George. George says that he first met him at the print-shop, at the corner of Hotten-street, about half-past six o'clock; that, after a short time, he went from there to a caricature shop, in Vere-street, whither Col. Gore followed him. From Vere-street he went down Oxford-street, as far as the Nag's Head public-house. Then the calling for the beer took place; and now, says George, it was near seven o'clock. The rest of the transaction occupied only a few minutes; then the gentleman went away; and Mr. Farden says, that when Col. Gore came into Bell's shop, it was between six and eight; he believes it was past seven o'clock. According to Mr. Gore's account, it must have been eight o'clock. Mr. Farden, whom nobody can suspect of stretching a point one way or the other, agrees with George as to these two important circumstances of the nick of time and of the colour of the coat, and disagrees with Mr. Gore and Cooper with regard to these circumstances. Mr. Farden and George bring Colonel Gore to

within forty yards of the same spot in Oxford-street, at precisely the time, or as nearly to it as possible, that Mr. Gore was sitting in his parlour, in South Audley-street, bearing his clock strike.

It was my intention to make some remarks upon the written defence; but after what we have seen, Mr. Adolphus's production may go for what it is worth. Dr. Rose's evidence, which shows that he gave his patient a particular caution against walking about the street, and which also shows that he scampered off from London to Ramsgate, leaving his business behind him, to inform Colonel Gore of the tales that were afloat, would, under other circumstances also have been worthy of an observation or two. But here I leave the matter. I offer no opinions of my own. I leave the decision to the English People, and I know that I leave it in good hands; for, let Colonel Gore say what he will about their delight to pull down their superiors in rank, the world will do them the justice to remember, that it was they, and they only, that preserved from all the infamy that malice backed by perjury could invent, the ever memorable, lamented and honoured Queen of England.

WM. CORBETT.

COURT MARTIAL AT PORTMAN BARRACKS.

FIRST DAY, SEPT. 13.

Corporal Samuel George, sworn and examined.—The charge having been read over to him, he gave his evidence to the following effect:—On the 2d of August I came off guard, and went with a parcel to

the city.—On my return through Oxford-street, I looked at a print shop at the corner of Holles-street; this was about half-past six; after a short time Colonel Gore came up and looked in at the same window: he came so close as to touch me: I went from there to a caricature shop in Vere-street; Colonel Gore followed me. From Vere-street I went down Oxford street; I crossed over at the Regent's Circus; Col. Gore came up to me; he was sometimes a little before and sometimes a little behind me; he went to the door of the Nag's Head public-house, and beckoned to me with his hand to follow him, which I did; this was near seven o'clock in the evening. I went into a little room on the left-hand side and sat down. Col. Gore stood facing the bar, and asked for a pot of beer, and paid for it. It was brought into the room where I was. During the time Colonel Gore was at the bar, he asked the servant girl whether she was married, or whether it was not time for her to be married? The pot of beer was brought in and put to me; I drank; Col. Gore afterwards took the pot and drank also. Before he put the pot out of his hand a gentleman came into the same room and called for some porter and the newspaper. Colonel Gore immediately put the porter out of his hand and went out, saying, he would come back presently. I saw no more of him that evening, I remained there and drank the beer. Before I left the room the gentleman who came in fell asleep. The landlady's daughter came in and shook him, and said, that was not a place to sleep in. I went and stood outside of the door; two soldiers of the same regiment with me came past (Shaw and Mason,) and I told the circumstance to them, that I had been in company with Col. Gore in the public-house, and told them the dress he had on. I left them and went to the Knightsbridge-bar-

racks. (Witness then pointed out Col. Gore); that is the same person who was in the public-house with me. He wore a brown coat with white trowsers, very dirty, all over grease.—He had on a black hat: his coat was very shabby.

In cross-examination witness said, I did not speak of this to any body till the Sunday week after the Friday night. I then mentioned it at the Canteen at Knightsbridge, Sergeant Powell was present. He said, "that was an old tale; he had heard that before." I was examined about it before the officers of Col. Gore's regiment. I have always given the same account of the transaction as I do now, as nearly as possible. I have said that Foster, Captain Solway's servant, saw me go into the public-house; I cannot swear whether he did or did not.

The JUDGE ADVOCATE now intimated, that a list of names had been put into his hand of persons who were to be called in support of Corporal George's testimony. He thought it but fair that George should be present during their examination.

The Court concurred, and George was recalled.

Catharine Hair was then called. She stated that she lived with her father at the Nag's Head, in Oxford-street. She remembered the 2d of August, and recollected, on the evening of that day, about seven o'clock, a soldier and a gentleman coming into the house. They went into a small room opposite the bar, and one of them called for a pot of beer. She drew it, and sent it in by the servant. She had no recollection of the soldier or the gentleman. The gentleman was dressed in a brown coat and sat opposite the soldier. A man went into the room shortly after their arrival and called for half a pint of beer. She remembered his falling asleep, and she went to awake him. She had seen

Corporal George since the night in question, but had no recollection of having seen him previously. The witness then looked at Colonel Gore, but declared most solemnly that she had never seen him before to her knowledge.

Cross-examined.—The soldier to whom she alluded did not ask her, after the departure of the gentleman, if she knew him, or if she would know him again; nor did she tell him that she had seen him before. Witness withdrew.

Mary Mc'Carthy now lives at the Lion and Horn, in Pollen-street, Grosvenor-square; she previously lived as servant at the Nag's Head, in Oxford-street. Recollected Friday the 2d August. On the evening of that day between six and seven, a soldier and a gentleman came into the house; they went into the tap-room. Her mistress, the last witness, called her to carry them a pot of beer. She took it in, and the gentleman paid for it. That was the first time she had seen the gentleman. He gave her a sixpence or a shilling; she was sure he paid her in silver. She went to the bar, got change, and carried it back to him; did not remember exactly what change she gave him. She took the money and gave it to her young mistress. The gentleman was sitting to the right as she went into the room, and the soldier was sitting at the opposite side of the table. She should know the soldier, but had no recollection of the gentleman. She thought she should not know him again. She remembered his dress; it was a brown coat and white trowsers; the latter were very dirty; it was a wet afternoon. Could not say whether his hat was on or off. Thought the gentleman said something to her about being married. He said, are you married? or you ought to get married: or something of that sort; and she went out of the room. [The witness was directed to look at Cor-

poral George—she did so, and said that was the soldier. She was then desired to look at Colonel Gore. Upon being asked if she knew him, she promptly said she did not; she had never seen him before to her knowledge. She could not say whether he was the gentleman with the soldier or no:—The gentleman did not stop long. The soldier followed him out, but returned again, sat down, and finished the beer. He afterwards was speaking with two other soldiers, in their working dress at the door.

Elizabeth Green, a woman whose appearance indicated that she did not belong to the most chaste or respectable part of society, was the third witness called. She stated that she had lived in Chandler-street, Grosvenor-square; she was not a housekeeper: on the 2d of August she saw Corporal George in Oxford-street; she knew him before that time; when she first saw him he was standing at the corner of Vere-street, looking into a fruit-shop; a man came up and spoke to him; he said something; she did not hear what; this was about half-past six or seven in the evening; they walked together straight down Oxford-street, till they came to Regent-circus; she followed them; Corporal George then crossed the street, and went into a public-house, and the gentlemen went in after him; it was the second or third public-house from the Circus; she went on, and did not see any more of them; the gentleman was dressed in a brown coat and very dirty white trousers; his hat was as mean as the other part of his dress; she was induced to follow them, and her attention was particularly attracted to them because she had known Corporal George so long, that she thought he would have spoken to her; she did not see the gentleman's face.

As was the case with the former witness, this witness was now de-

sired to look at Corporal George; she did so, and said she knew him very well; she was then directed to look round the room and point out, if she could, the gentleman to whom she alluded as having gone with George into the public-house. She looked round the room in rather a loose manner, till her eye rested upon Colonel Gore, who sat in a chair by the side of Mr. Adolphus, and was, consequently, in comparison with that gentleman, rather a conspicuous figure. She said, "That gentleman (pointing to Colonel Gore) resembles the man more than any body else; she could not swear that it was him, but she thought it was."

In cross-examination she said she had seen the Corporal with a Sergeant, a few days since at her lodging, and once before, when he called to ask her if she had seen him with a gentleman in Oxford-street; she admitted that she had said she did not see the gentleman's face; and she now only spoke to him, because of his size and thinness; but she could not speak to his face, nor had she any recollection of it; she was a married woman; her husband was a tallow-chandler, and was now working at Rochester; he left her seven months since; she formerly lived in Shoreditch, subsequently moved to Barrett's-court, Wigmore-street, and thence to her present lodging, where she had been about five months.

The witness Elizabeth Green was ordered to be recalled.

The Sergeant in attendance went for her, but shortly afterwards returned, and announced that she had gone away, declaring she would not stop for any person.

The President desired that she might be sent for to her lodgings, and a sergeant was despatched after her forthwith.

John Shaw, a private in the 5th company of the Coldstream Guards, examined—He said he knew for

what he was called to attend that Court; and on being directed to state all that came within his knowledge respecting the charge, he deposed that about six or seven weeks since, he could not tell the day of the week or month, he had been to call upon a comrade in Wardour-street, and was returning home between eight and nine o'clock to his quarters at Knightsbridge. As he went up Oxford-street he saw Corporal George standing with his back to a public-house, with a stick in his hand. He went up to speak to him, when he said a gentleman had met him and told him to follow him, and went into a public-house and called for some porter; after they had been there a short time, another man came in, and the gentleman got up and went away. He added that he went to the landlady and asked her if she knew the gentleman, and she said she did not. He then asked her if she should know him again if she saw him, but she said she had not noticed him. That was all he told him. Witness was accompanied by his comrade Mason; the public-house was below Regent-street.

The JUDGE ADVOCATE asked George if he had any questions to put to this witness? To which he replied, that he had told him the dress the gentleman had on, and also that it was Colonel Gore. He added, that in a conversation with the witness in Knightsbridge Barracks subsequently, when Corporal Marshall was present, he said when he came before the gentlemen he was afraid to tell the truth; but what he had said he would now stick to.

The witness, on being questioned as to the truth of this statement, denied most positively that George had ever mentioned the name of Colonel Gore to him on the evening they met in Oxford-street, or described the dress of the person who had treated him with porter.

He admitted that he had a conversation with George in the barrack-yard at Knightsbridge, on the Sunday after he was examined on this subject; when, in answer to a question from George as to what he had said, he stated that he trembled all over, but had told the truth. George asked him, "what the gentleman said to him?" and he said, "they had asked him who the gentlemen was whom he (George) had described as having drunk with him," and that his answer was "he did not know." Upon which George swore and said, "why did you not say it was Gore?" To which he replied, "if he wanted him to say any thing, he should have come and told him so before he went in; but that he could not now add any thing to what he had said."

In further examination by the Court, he repeated most solemnly that George never did tell him who the gentleman was, nor ever described his dress.

James Mason, also a private in the Coldstream Guards, and in the same company with the last witness, corroborated his testimony as to meeting with George in Oxford-street, and as to the fact of George never having described the dress, or mentioned the name of the gentleman who he said treated him with porter in the public-house.

The sergeant who had been sent in pursuit of Mrs. Green having returned, and announced that he had brought her back, she was called in, when, in examination by the Court, she repeated her story, that she first saw George standing looking into a fruit shop at the corner of Vere-street; that a gentleman came up to him, and that they both went directly down Oxford-street to the public-house she had described.

Some further questions were then put to her respecting her husband, but she declined answering them. What she came there about

had nothing to do with her or her husband, and she did not see why she should be questioned on these topics.

The PRESIDENT told her it was her duty to answer every question which the Court might think proper to put to her with a view to the furtherance of justice.

Upon her questioning the right of the Court to enforce such a rule, however, and becoming somewhat impertinent, she was ordered to withdraw.

Corporal Marshall deposed, that he was present at a conversation between corporal George and private Shaw, in Knightsbridge barracks, on a Sunday morning, when the former accused the latter of not telling the truth before the gentlemen; to which the latter replied, that, "If he wanted him to say any thing, he should have spoke to him before he went in, and then he should have known what to say; but he was so frightened he did not know what he was going to say."

In answer to a question from George, witness said that Shaw said he was afraid to say the truth, or some word of that sort.

John Shaw being recalled, and the evidence of Marshall stated to him, he said it was not correct, and repeated his former testimony; adding, that what he said was, "that he had told them all he knew, but that he was all of a tremble, and scarcely knew what he was doing." He never said he was afraid to tell the truth.

The PRESIDENT here asked George, if he had any more witnesses? He mentioned the names of two others, but it appearing, from George's statement, that their evidence had no reference whatever to the charge before the Court, they were not called.

The case for the prosecution being now closed, at half-past three the Court adjourned.

SECOND DAY.—SATURDAY.

The Defence.

On the opening of the Court this day, Colonel Gore expressed a wish to have Corporal George and Mrs. Green again called in.

Corporal George having been called, was then examined for the defence. He had known Mrs. Green ever since the beginning of 1819; she was not related to him; she had said she was his sister, but she was not; never heard her say so without contradicting her; she mentioned when she went to the Tower that she was his sister; she had been to these barracks to see him, but not as his sister; never saw her after the affair in Oxford-street, till he saw her when he went to her in company with the sergeant; he had been in confinement ever since.

Colonel Woodford here remarked that the witness had the liberty of going out whenever he chose to ask.

Witness in continuation, said that he was put in confinement about the 14th of August; from the 2d of August to the 14th he was at liberty to go where he pleased; saw Elizabeth Green in Oxford-street on the 2d.—(The witness remained in Court.)

Mrs. Green was not in attendance.

Col. Gore now entreated that the Judge-Advocate would be pleased to read a written address which he handed in.

The Judge-Advocate said it was not usual to call upon an officer of the Court to read such papers, unless from some peculiar reason assigned.

Col. Gore said he was extremely short-sighted, and therefore should feel it a favour if his request were complied with.

The Court having signified their acquiescence,

The deputy Judge-Advocate proceeded to read the following address:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen—cannot enter upon my defence without acknowledging, with heartfelt gratitude, the very handsome and liberal manner in which the charge against me was introduced by Colonel Woodford. I was desirous it should be known, and he has liberally made it known to you that from the moment it was intimated that an accusation existed, I was anxious for an inquiry, that I might face my accuser, and vindicate my character. And however painful and distressing it may be to be called upon to repel a charge so disgraceful as that which is now under inquiry, and so malignant as that which was avowedly intended, I feel it as the very highest consolation that I am to answer before a Court composed of gentlemen and men of honour—of persons who, while they are duly attentive to the duties imposed on them by their situation, will adequately feel for the distressing anxiety of mine. When I assert, as I am confident I shall prove, that the charge and all the evidence upon it, as it relates to me, is utterly false and unfounded, it may naturally be asked what can have induced the prosecutor to make such an accusation, when he knew it to be utterly unfounded. I am unable to define, or even to surmise the personal motives of the individual; but, I am sorry to observe, that these times are fruitful in instances of the extraordinary excesses to which men may be carried by envy and hatred of their superiors in rank and authority, and by the distinction which they hope to gain in certain classes of society by malignant aspersions and daring attacks upon those who are elevated above them in station and character.

Gentlemen—If the charge against me stood as it now does, without my offering a witness in contradiction of it, I should think, I may say I should confidently trust, that

it would utterly fail by its own weakness, and still more when the evidence of the only material witness, Corporal George, shall come to be contrasted with his own previous statements, and with the contradictions he has received from those whom he has called to support his case. The narrative which first occasioned this inquiry was made, as I understand, by Corporal George, at the Barrack Canteen, on Sunday, 11th of August, in company with Sergeant Powell and others; and there he stated that I first came to him at a picture shop, and there had some conversation with him; that he followed me, and that I went into two public-houses in Oxford-street, while he remained at the door; and that, in the like manner, I went into a third public-house; that I ordered beer; that I paid for it at the bar; that I brought the beer into the room; and that after I was gone he spoke to the mistress of the house about me, who said that she did not know my name, but that I was often there in the evening with soldiers, and often treated them, for which she thought me a very good man. To prove that he made this statement I shall call Sergeant Powell, who made a minute in writing of what passed. A few days afterwards the substance of this conversation having been reported, Corporal George was examined, as he states in his evidence, before the officers of my regiment, and his examination was then taken in writing. He then stated that I first came to him and spoke to him in Oxford-street, as he was looking at some grapes in a window. In confirmation of this story, he stated that one Foster had seen him when he went into the house, and that he saw Shaw and Mason, when he was going away, and told them, among other things, he had been drinking with old Gore. The evidence he has given before this Honourable Court, corresponds more

nearly with that which he gave before the officers; than with his former conversation; but when it is placed by the side of that which is stated by the witnesses, pointed out by himself to support his narrative, it will be found even by them, to be materially contradicted. You will observe that in the statement made here, he says the first shop he was looking into, was at the corner of Holles-street. There is a fruit shop there. He says he went to Vere-street, where I followed him. If so, we must have returned a considerable distance along Oxford-street, to reach the public-house kept by Hair, and placed by the witness beyond the Regent's Crescent. The only witness called to support him in this part of his story is Elizabeth Green, and she states matter quite irreconcilable to his narrative. She says she first saw George looking into a fruit shop at the corner of Vere-street; there is no fruit shop at or near the corner of Vere-street; the nearest to it is two doors from Old Cavendish-street. But it may be said, she mistakes Holles-street for Vere-street, and the shop George was looking into was that which he has mentioned in Court. Such a supposition can hardly be admitted, considering the exactness with which she described the place when interrogated by the Court; and especially by its relative situation to Bond-street; but if she did mean Holles-street then her story is still more incredible; for then she, with a child in her arms, must have proceeded after George and me towards Hyde-park, as far as Vere-street, turned up Vere-street, (for the print shop there is a good way up on the right hand side, at the corner of Chapel-place), returned along Oxford-road, past Holles-street, where she had first seen us, and then gone on to the public-house where she saw us go in. Now, of all this, very material, if true, she has not said

one word; but on the contrary, simply stated that she followed us straight along Oxford-street; nor has she said one word about my going into any other public-house before I went into the one in question. Nor indeed has Corporal George mentioned this fact in his evidence here. But, Gentlemen, it must surely strike you as very extraordinary, that if this woman could give such important evidence, her name was never mentioned when George was examined before the officers; nor on any other occasion that I know, till she was produced here. I forbear to make any remark on the manner in which this witness gave her evidence; you saw and will make your own observations; but I cannot forbear requesting your particular attention to her saying that she did not know me; she never saw my face; and yet, even while I was sitting, she said that in height and thinness I was more like the person she saw, than any other individual in the room. Having never heard the name of this woman till two or three days ago, and then without any address or description, I could make no inquiries about her; but judge, Gentlemen, of my surprise when on leaving the Court, after the adjournment yesterday, I was informed, and which is since ascertained to be true, that she is, or has long passed for the sister of this Corporal George, whom she pretended to have known only three years. The witness called to prove what passed in the house are Catharine Hair, and Mary McCarthy. I will not stop to examine, but merely notice the difference between their evidence and the statement first made by George, of my paying for the beer at the bar and taking it into the room myself. Habit is a second nature, and I will leave you, Gentlemen, to judge whether it is probable that a man well born, and used all his

life to the attendance of servants, should, even if he so far debased himself as to drink at an alehouse with a soldier, become so suddenly transformed as to sink into a wretch. But do these witnesses, or does either of them, lend the least support to the stories he has told about his conversation with the mistress of the house, and her having told him that I was frequently there treating soldiers. The story he is confirmed in, is very likely true so far as he is confirmed, it is very likely that he was in the house between six and seven o'clock with a man dressed as he describes, and that another man came in who went to sleep, and the first man went away; but it is utterly untrue that I was the man. Of all the witnesses he has called, not one has sworn to my person; but if I had conversed with and paid money to the females he has called, in the manner he describes, it is next to impossible but that they must have had some idea of the appearance of such a person, enough at least to have stated whether I resembled him or not. I said very little about the evidence of Shaw and Mason. They are witnesses selected by George himself to support his testimony, although he has called another witness, Corporal Marshall, to throw discredit on them. Of these men I know nothing; what he may have expected from them, on what his expectations may have been founded, I cannot tell; but of this I feel assured, that if he had, on the 2d of August, told them that he had been drinking at an alehouse with me, long before the 10th, every soldier, every military man, and probably all the world besides, would have been informed of it. They have been examined, and I shall call Foster to prove that he did not see George or me on the night in question. It may be asked, how it should happen that this man

should choose me, in preference to any other person. The sequel of my defence will shew that I may have been seen in Oxford-street on that day, and when, in the course of a very licentious conversation at the canteen, a servant, whom I was then about to discharge, mentioned me, it probably occurred to Corporal George to fix on me facts which applied to some other person, and to add such circumstances as he thought would give additional effect. If I were addressing a Court, composed of persons to whom honour is less dear than it is to British officers, I should offer an apology for consuming so much time in animadverting on the case attempted to be made out against me, when I have to produce full, decisive and irresistible proof that I could not possibly be engaged with George in the manner he has alleged. To you, I am sure, no such apology is necessary; for even if your judgment should disapprove the course I have taken, your honourable minds will participate in my feelings. You will bear in mind that the time I am supposed to have passed in the disgraceful intercourse you have heard of, is from about half-past six or seven o'clock, to some time about a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes after seven. I shall shew by the clearest evidence how I was engaged, not only that portion, but during the whole day; and prove beyond a doubt that this charge against me is corruptly and wickedly false. At the beginning of August my health was in such a state, that I not only was under medical care, but ate my meals separately from my family, and was intending to go to the coast for change of air. On the 2d, at half-past four o'clock, the horse was put into a rig, and my father drove me to the house of Mr. Rose, my surgeon, in Park-place. That gentleman being engaged, I was driven

by my father to Stockdale's the bookseller, in Piccadilly; and rain coming on, remained there till past five. The weather then clearing up, I returned to Mr. Rose's; and, after waiting about a quarter of an hour, had a long interview with him, and he wrote a prescription for me, which is dated, and will be produced. My father then drove me home to South Audley-street, where we arrived a little after six, I dined alone; and, at a quarter past seven, and not till then, I again got into the gig, and my father drove me to Mr. Bell's the chymist, in Oxford-street, where I got the prescription made up. I went into the shop for this purpose, leaving my cloak in the gig, and I returned to my father who sat in the gig waiting for me, and saw me come from Mr. Bell's door. He then drove me for a short time in Hyde-park, and we returned home about a quarter after eight. These facts I purpose to prove, Gentlemen, not by my father alone, but by all the servants in the house, and by Mr. Rose; and after that proof shall have been submitted to you, I shall cheerfully leave my fate, for such it is, in your hands. I should ill repay the patient attention with which you have honoured me, by wasting your time in general observations. If you can think me guilty nothing that I can say will avert or mitigate your well-deserved censure; and the good name I have acquired by my service in the army, from the age of fifteen to this time, will not, nor ought it to avail; if, on the contrary, you are of opinion that my honour has been assailed by a wicked and atrocious calumny, your generous sympathy, expressed, in my acquittal, will be to you the most agreeable termination of your present labour, and to me the most honourable compensation for all that I have suffered from the moment I first heard of this most base and unfounded accusation.

The following witnesses were then called and examined:—

Sergeant Powell.—I am a sergeant in the Coldstream Guards; I was at the canteen on the day when Corporal George made some charge against Col. Gore; it was one Sunday evening; I was sitting in the canteen about eight o'clock, when Colonel Gore's servant came in (Wm. Cooper) and told me his master wanted to speak to me the next morning, at eight o'clock, as he was going to leave town; he added, I expect it is about getting another servant, as master and I have had some words about loading the carriage. I told him I should be there at the time; he then went away, and I went to my room; I returned to the canteen that night, and I heard Corporal George say, "there's a pretty thing; I was in company the other night with a Colonel of the Guards—that servant's master—in two or three public-houses, and drinking with him in one of them; we went into two first, and at the third, the Colonel called for a pot of beer, and paid for it at the bar, with sixpence, and received a penny change;" he then said, he was standing at a print-shop, near Harley-street; and was looking at the degrees of a horse, when the Colonel came up and asked him where he was going to? He said, no where particular, and the Colonel said, "come along with me;" he went with him to one or two streets, till at last they came to a public-house: the Colonel went and looked into the public-house and came out again.

After some consultation between the President and the Judge-Advocate, the Court was now cleared.

On our re-admission the witness was recalled, and went on with his evidence as follows:—They then went to a second public-house and came out again, when they went to a third public-house, where the Colonel called for a pot of beer at

the bar, took it, and paid 6d. for it, and got a penny change. The Colonel spoke to a little girl at the bar, and said it was almost time for her to be married, or something to that effect. They (the Colonel and George) then went into a little parlour next the bar; the Colonel brought in the beer, drank out of the pot, and put it down on the table, and he (George) then drank. Immediately after that a third person came in, and called for a pint of beer and a newspaper. The Colonel then went out, and said he should return immediately. He (George) waited some time, drank the beer out, and then went to the landlady, and asked her if she knew him? She said she did not know him, but he was a very good-natured gentleman, and often came there with soldiers and treated them with beer. He then went out of the house into the street, to look if he could see him anywhere; he could not see him, and then went home. I saw Mrs. Green, who was examined yesterday, in these barracks before, about nine months ago. Corporal George was charged with playing at cards with private soldiers, in a public-house, and he brought this woman, who he said was his sister, to prove that at the same time he was along with her buying things.—Corporal George was present when this woman said she was his sister.

Examined by Corporal George.—I made no observation when you made this statement to me. I never said "that is an old story, and I heard it years before."

Examined by the Court.—There were two or three sergeants in the room at the time.

Jas. Price sworn and examined.—I am a private in the Coldstream Guards; I recollect being charged with Corporal George for playing at cards at the sign of the Green Man, in Green-street; George said he should call upon his sister, Eliz. Green, the woman who has been

examined as a witness here, to come forward; she always owned herself to be his sister; George said he should get his sister, Eliz. Green, to come and say that he was along with her buying some goods, whereas, in point of fact, he was playing cards with me all the day.

Examined by Corporal George.—I did not see Eliz. Green go into the orderly room, but I saw her at the gate. Witness withdrew.

Mary Lambert.—I live in Barrett's-court, Wigmore-street; Plowman lives there; I have kept the house three years; I do not know a woman of the name of Green, and never let any part of my house to her; she never lived in the house; I may have seen her before to-day, but I do not recollect.—Witness withdrew.

Major Charles Bentinck sworn and examined.—I was present at the time of the investigation of the conduct of Col. Gore, at Knightsbridge; Col. Bouverie took down in writing what passed.

Col. Woodford sworn and examined.—I was also present at the investigation alluded to by the last witness.

A statement, dated the 16th of August, was then put in and read; which purported to be an account of the evidence given by Corporal George when first examined by the officers of his regiment on the subject of this charge. In this statement there were several very material variances, when compared with the testimony he this day gave before the Court.

There was a second statement, dated the 17th August, when he underwent a second examination, in which it also appeared that he varied in his story.

Major Bentinck's examination renewed.—Corporal George said on the investigation in question, that Foster, who had formerly been in his regiment, and who he knew very well, saw him going into the public-house with Col. Gore. He

added, that Foster had been servant to Capt. Solway, and was a stonemason by trade; he believed he was working at Highgate, but did not know where to find him.

Arthur Foster sworn and examined.—I was servant to Captain Solway. I saw Corporal George for the first time, about six or eight months ago, at Rothwell Park, in Hampshire; he was conducting a prisoner to Petersfield; I did not see him again till yesterday.—I did not see him in Oxford-street on the 2d of August last. From what I saw of him at Rothwell Park, if I had seen him in Oxford-street, I should have recollected him. I rather think I was out of employment on the 2d of August; I am not certain.

Corporal George said, it was useless to ask this witness any questions. He had been told by a sergeant that he said he did not know any thing of him whatever—when they had sailed in the same ship together from Portsmouth.

The witness, in re-examination, positively swore he did not see Corporal George on the 2d of August, nor was he in Oxford-street, to his knowledge, on that day.—Witness withdrew.

Thomas Gore, Esq. examined.—I live at No. 18, South Audley-street. My son, Colonel Gore, was in my company on the 2d of Aug. On that day the gig was ordered at a quarter past four: soon after which Colonel Gore came down through the garden, and got into the gig with me at the stable. We drove to Mr. Rose's in Park-place, who was engaged; we then went to Mr. Stockdale's, in Piccadilly. Colonel Gore got out and went into the shop; I remained at the door. About five o'clock a very heavy storm of rain came on, which lasted some time. After it was over, the letter-bell going, we returned to Mr. Rose's, who was still engaged. Colonel Gore got out of the gig, and went in to

consult Mr. Rose; he remained some time. After the consultation I drove him back to the stable at the back of my house. He then went up the garden to his own room, and I gave the wet umbrella to his servant, Wm. Cooper. That was about a quarter past six o'clock; and at half-past six o'clock I sat down to dinner with my family in the parlour, and sent up Colonel Gore's dinner by his servant, as usual. Colonel Gore not having dined below, or walked out, for nearly a month. Whilst we were at dinner, having a clock on the side-board, it struck seven. I am confidently punctual as to the time. The groom was directed to get the gig when ordered, and about half-past seven or twenty minutes before eight Colonel Gore came down the garden to the stable, and his servant brought a dry umbrella. We then got into the gig, and Colonel Gore put on his blue cloak, as he wanted air in the gig, being very indifferent, and unable to walk. I then drove down South-street gently into Park-lane, down Upper Bond-street, Grosvenor-square, and so to Oxford-street. I passed Bell's (the chymist) door, and turned round to the right of Queen-street, and placed the carriage against Bell's east window and the cutler's shop for Colonel Gore to get out, not being able to draw up at Bell's door, because of the crossing from Portland-street. Col. Gore then threw off his cloak, and went into Mr. Bell's shop with Mr. Rose's prescription. He remained there a few minutes, and he never was out of my sight the whole of that afternoon or evening, except those few minutes. I watched his coming out, and that instant he came out he got into the gig, put on his cloak, and we returned the same way to Park-lane, went in at Grosvenor-gate, drove a short time about Hyde Park, went out at Chesterfield-gate, and straight

home to the same stable whence we had departed. It was then half-past eight. Colonel Gore then went up the garden to the drawing-room, where he lay on the sofa the whole evening.

Examined by Corporal George.—“This good gentleman states that his son was never out of his sight but the few minutes in the chymist's; whereas he has already stated he sent his dinner up to him in his room.—I would ask him whether he is sure he was then in his room?—A. I can swear that he was. I went up to him two or three times during dinner, as was my practice every day; to see that he had every thing right. I saw him, and can positively swear he was there.

Corporal George by the COURT.—Could he have gone into Oxford-street in the intervals when you were absent from him.—Certainly not.—“He had not time.”—He had not time, and he could not walk. The longest time between the periods of my seeing him did not exceed, in the first instance, five or ten minutes; and in the second, twenty minutes or a quarter of an hour. His servant, William Cooper, attended him during his dinner.

Col. Woodford again examined.—When this charge was made, I met Mr. Gore (the last witness), at Sir H. Bouverie's, in St. James's-square, to hear his statement, in consequence of the statement of Corporal George.—Sir Henry Bouverie, Col. Hamilton, Col. Gore, Mr. Gore, and a friend of his were present. At that meeting Mr. Gore gave in substance the same account he had given this day. I

took a minute of what had occurred. (The witness then read his minute and its contents confirmed his impression.)

Mr. Thomas Rose examined.—I am a surgeon, residing in Park-place, St. James's. Colonel Gore was a patient of mine. I wrote the prescription produced on the day it bears date (the 2d of August.) It was between half-past four and six when I saw Colonel Gore. Col. Gore was not in a state of health to be walking about the streets on a wet day. I particularly cautioned him against such a practice, as he was suffering under a very severe complaint at the time. I heard a report against Col. Gore, and went to him, informing him of the circumstance, on the 14th of August, to Ramsgate, where he was for the benefit of sea air. He came to town the next day.

Mr. J. Fardeau, assistant to Mr. Bell, the chymist, in Oxford-street, proved that he had made up the prescription produced, on the 2d of August. It was for Col. Gore, and was delivered at his house in South Audley-street. Col. Gore called between six and eight.—Witness believed it was past seven. Colonel Gore delivered the prescription himself. He was dressed as a private gentleman; a dark coat and waistcoat. He did not observe any thing further.

John Davis, groom to Col. Gore, confirmed the evidence of Mr. Gore, as to the departure from and return to South Audley-street, with the gig, both before and after dinner.

(To be continued.)

MARKETS.

Average Price of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending Sept. 14th.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.
Wheat.....	30	4
Rye.....	18	1
Barley.....	22	11
Oats.....	18	0
Beans.....	23	2
Pease.....	25	7

At MARK LANE, Sept. 16th.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.
Wheat.....	41	10
Rye.....	20	0
Barley.....	22	11
Oats.....	19	9
Beans.....	24	7
Pease.....	28	2

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Sept. 22d.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	8	to	3 4
Mutton.....	2	6	—	2 10
Veal.....	3	6	—	4 6
Pork.....	3	0	—	3 8

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	0	to	2 8
Mutton.....	1	10	—	2 6
Veal.....	2	8	—	4 0
Pork.....	2	4	—	3 8
Lamb.....	2	8	—	3 4

BACON—Has not varied in price for several weeks, during which time there has been a good consumption in London; and the low price has occasioned a demand for the Country, which will at least prevent any decline in price.—Best 32s.—Middling and heavy 25s. to 28s.—Dried 2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d. per stone of 8 lb.

BUTTER—Seems likely to experience an advance in price, as some monied men have begun to speculate. The general opinion, too, is, that present prices are not too high to admit of a little increase. Carlisle, 81s. to 82s.—Waterford, 74s. to 75s.—Belfast, 80s.—Limerick, 72s.—Dutch, 82s.

CHEESE—As we stated last week, is accumulating very fast; and the middling kinds seem likely to go low. A great deal of this description remained unsold at Reading Fair on the 21st instant. Fine Cheshire, 74s. to 76s.; inferior, 60s. to 66s.—New Cheshire, 48s. to 52s. New Derby (coloured) 46s. to 50s.; (pale) 43s. to 46s.—New Double Gloucester, 46s. to 50s.; Best Single, 44s. to 46s.; Middling, 36s. to 42s.; Fine Somerset, 63s. to 66s.; Middling, 54s. to 60s.



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